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The Rationale of the China Question - Macao,

1857

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FROM THE BEQUEST OF  
CHARLES SUMNER  
CLASS OF 1830

*Senator from Massachusetts*

FOR BOOKS RELATING TO  
POLITICS AND FINE ARTS

THE  
**RATIONALE**  
OF THE  
**CHINA QUESTION.**

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BY  
AN AMERICAN

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SECOND EDITION

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MASTON  
1867

Ch 100.2.2



THE  
RATIONALE  
OF THE  
CHINA QUESTION:  
COMPRISING  
AN  
INQUIRY  
INTO THE  
REPRESSIVE POLICY  
OF THE  
IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.  
WITH CONSIDERATIONS  
OF THE DUTIES OF THE  
THREE TREATY POWERS  
ENGLAND, FRANCE, & AMERICA.  
IN REGARD TO IT;—  
AND  
A GLANCE AT THE ORIGINS OF THE  
FIRST AND SECOND WARS  
WITH  
CHINA.  
WITH INCIDENTAL NOTICES OF THE  
REBELLION.

BY  
AN AMERICAN.

*Arthur Helps.*

"We may imagine, that from some fitness of the season, as in great scientific discoveries, so in the breaking into light of a great cause, the same processes are going on in many minds, and it seems as if they communicated with each other invisibly: may we may imagine that all good powers aid this cause, and brave and wise thoughts about it float aloft in the atmosphere of thought as downy seeds are borne over the fruitful face of the earth. And, if good powers do regard these things, imagine the pity and the sorrow with which they behold the right man taking the wrong side, and the virtues of a man put into the scale of oppression and of cruelty."

*Arthur Helps.*

MACAO, 1857.

2d. EDITION.

ch 100.2.2

## EXPLANATORY LETTER OF THE AUTHOR TO A FRIEND IN AMERICA.

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“Apprehending at its inception the nature of the rupture and observing a general conflict of opinions, I had written to several friends respecting it in October and early in November ; and as one incident after another succeeded to confirm the prescience of my view. I found, at length, my private communications becoming *prophecy fulfilled*.

Viewing it as involving the most serious direct issue between Christianity and Paganism presented during several centuries I became impressed, in presence of this conflict of opinions, by the importance of a correct appreciation of the question in the Western Nations and felt it a duty due from me, as one of the few who had long resided in China and witnessed the former War, to the many of the West as well as to the millions of China, to contribute somewhat to the light so much required upon a subject too long obscured by distance and the complexity arising from the anomalous nature of previous relations.

This sense of duty was heightened by the dread inspired by former experience, that untimely concessions to the exigencies of material or personal interests might mar or utterly spoil the occasion ;—such, under the pressure of impatient and exacting constituencies, being the inevitable result of the Diplomatist's as of the Merchant's craving for early fruits.

These, briefly, are the reasons for my resort to publication.”



isonment, torture, and final murder of a French Missionary\*; the murder of an American without atonement; or the spoliation of a vessel in distress; or repeated infractions of Treaties and accumulated insults to the Flag and Officers of England:—But every fresh act only reveals, again, *that antagonism in Principles which always exists.*

Do you ask whence the inspiration of this hostility?—We reply that it is from Christianity that they draw their fear of Western influence; it is the dread of the spread of the pure faith of United Christendom which, once widely diffused, would wholly undermine their system of Government. They are conscious that England has scrupulously fulfilled the conditions imposed upon her by the Treaty of Nanking, including the surrender of Chusan, notwithstanding the constant indications of the disposition of their own Government to recede from its obligations.

There has been nothing, then, in the attitude of the Government of England to engender this hostility; nor, indeed, on the other hand, have there been wanting indications or expressions of sympathy and important material aid to the Imperial Government of China in the collection of Duties at Shanghai, and in other forms, even down to the present moment. And let it be borne in mind that these acts of more than comity stand in point of time, as subsequent thereto, contrasted with the slaughter of Englishmen at Wang-chuh-ki, and the erection of Triumphant Arches to commemorate the expulsion of the English from Canton. There is, then, no just political pretence for the retrogressive course pursued by the Court of Peking since K'ing's Treaties with Foreign Powers.

Indeed, the indications of its policy by its own acts fully exonerate England from any suspicion of having, either by her Diplomacy or her Arms, inspired any political distrust at Peking,—since this policy is seen to be applied as well to French Missionaries and American Citizens as to English Officers and Citizens:—All “Western Barbarians” are placed in one category; and the effort is to repress the beneficent spirit which animates the Western peoples and impels them to extend the “right hand of fellowship,” with all the mutual

blessings thus grasped, to China, the genius of whose *pe ple* so peculiarly invites free intercourse. They see in this peacefully-aggressive spirit an apparent unity of purpose, but their diplomacy of late years evinces no dread of the extension of commerce; and it has become evident that we must ascribe to their perception of the nature of another bond of union among the Western Nations, the dread the Rulers of China have latterly crined of the increase of foreign influence.

We repeat that it is the dread of the spread of the pure faith of United Christendom; nor can it be denied that they have reason to shrink from nearer contact with the people the vital principles of whose union are based upon Christianity. They behold the Nations of the West made one Brotherhood by this beneficent bond of union, whose precepts are daily acquiring a more faithful observance as the basis of intercourse; to whose principles each appeals for justification before the others, and by which are finally reconciled all differences, however divergent may have been the material interests of the various parties. The union of Nations in physical power is imposing when they seek only their own aggrandizement or self-protection; but when the whole of Christendom comes, as it were in one *Confederated League*, to knock at the gates of the Pagan East, it is with the mighty tread of TRUTH, that shall cast down all the emblems of Idolatry at the portal, and scatter the worthless fragments of a faith whose hollow fatalism shall then, in its conscious cowardice, confess that its end has come!—

It is not strange, we say, that the Rulers of China, relying upon the soulless dogmas of their sages and the hollow pretences of ‘paternal’ solicitude, should fear the contact of the people of the West, thus united in faith, and led, alike, by the inculcations of duty and the advancing spirit of the age. They see them seeking in China an inlet for the spirit which animates themselves, and with alarm they behold in it so penetrating and pervading a power that, whilst its inculcators are still held fast at the very threshold of the Empire, it is becoming spread abroad in the land, and its general principles are imitated if not adopted in sincerity by a powerful Revolutionary Government at Nanking.\*

*From the Anglo-Chinese Calendar for 1855.*

\* February 6th, 1854.—A translation appears of the remarkable letter of Hung Siu-tsuen to Rev. I. J. Roberts, with whom he lived for a short time at Canton. In compliance with its request, Mr. Roberts repaired to Shanghai, but was not able to reach Nanking.—

“Though it is long since we parted, yet I constantly cherish a remembrance of you. Now that the grateful breezes of spring salute men, while distant, I have thought of you, my venerated elder brother. It is indeed praiseworthy that you have traversed myriads of leagues of ocean, to publish the true doctrines of the Redeemer, and that you with all your heart serve the Lord. I respectfully make known to you, that notwithstanding my unworthiness and incapacity, the Heavenly Father has not cast me off, but in the fulness of his grace has enabled me to obtain possession of the extensive region embraced in the *Liang Hu* and *Kiang-nan*, (i. e. *Hunan*, *Hupeh*, *Nyan-hui*, and *Kiangsu*.) I have written to you several times, but have yet received no answer to my letters.

\* “An account of a case that occurred, a few months ago, in a place called Si-lin. Mons. Chapdelaine, a French missionary, was arrested because he preached. He was brought before the tribunal: the mandarin began by ordering one hundred blows on the face, to be inflicted on him with a leather shoe-sole. He then made him lie down, and he was beaten with three hundred strokes of a cane. As during this double torture M. Chapdelaine uttered no complaint nor groan, the mandarin, attributing this long-suffering to the influence of some charm, caused the throat of a dog to be cut, and sprinkled the poor sufferer with its blood, in order to dissipate the magic. Next day, the mandarin learning that M. Chapdelaine was still able to walk, he ordered him to be beaten till his strength should be exhausted; when it was announced that the victim could no longer move, they put him upon a sort of apparatus with springs, that crushed him as in a press. In this condition he was hung up. Lastly, when on the point of death, he was decapitated. His head was hung up to a tree, but the children pelting it with stones, it fell down, and was devoured by the dogs and pigs.”

This alarm is not of very recent origin, for it was not long after the Treaties of Ke-Ying that re-action from the profound convictions he evinced, particularly in his Treaty with H. E. M. de Lagrené, and in his subsequent efforts to inculcate in his countrymen juster views of Christianity than had prevailed for several centuries,—it was not long, we say, before there were decided signs of powerful re-action in the councils of the Emperor, and one of these was the degrading of that most eminent of modern Chinese Statesmen. Since the visit of the Foreign Ministers at the mouth of the Peiho,\* the indications of this spirit of repression, directed against Christianity, have been more frequent and decided,—as though the joint assurances of the three Treaty Powers, that they neither singly nor collectively purposed aggression or territorial acquisition had lulled all apprehensions of retaliation, and emboldened the Imperial Government to acts of barbarity which are only attributed to the most savage people.

But these are the rulers, not the people. When present distance leads but to estrangements and consequent difficulties, shall the obstinately-perverse and selfish rulers of this people still keep us thus environed with dangers?

We trust that this will be so no longer; but that the three Treaty Powers will, by concerted action with a powerful joint force, insist upon redress for the past and ample guarantees for the future. This is demanded of the three leading Naval Powers, as well in the interest of the Chinese people as for the security of their respective citizens.

The Christian Nations seek from China nothing but international comity;—the recognition of reciprocal rights, the fulfilment of reciprocal duties.—Is it too much to ask of a man to treat you as you are willing and will bind yourself to treat him, nay, as on his coming to your country, you have already been in the habit of treating him?

Nations are but collective men and subject to the same natural laws in relation to each other.

But the jealous assumption of superiority, and the impracticable nature and habits of thought instilled by the cunning of their rulers, imposed upon the Western Governments, in forming their Treaties, the necessity to provide for the security of

their own citizens by establishing Judicial Tribunals of their own, which was in effect to recognize a state of quasi-hostility in the respective attitudes of the West and the East:—If not this, it is an *Imperium in Imperio*; and the duties already adverted to as binding the three Great Naval Powers to act with the good of the Chinese people in view, are only the more incumbent.

Such, then, is the attitude of the Christian Nations toward China, and such are the duties imposed, especially upon the three Treaty Powers,—Great Britain, France, and the United States.

When, therefore, from the repeated efforts of China to free herself from the reciprocal obligations of the comity which a former exercise of force wrested from her beaten but reluctant officers under the walls of Nanking, she has, at length, precipitated a crisis in her relations with the Western Nations, it may be well for us, in considering the circumstances in which ourselves as well as the Chinese are placed, to mingle with the present facts a recollection of past events, thereby somewhat to temper the ardent spirit of the hour, lest just expectations be jeopardized by a too precipitate course of proceeding.—The magnitude of the interests at stake, viewed only as material ones, enjoins the greatest deliberation; and when the moral considerations are admitted, as they should ever be, to the first place in the purposes of the Christian Nations, *the occasion rises into a grandeur that may well challenge the best services and the greatest devotion of the Governments of the three Treaty Powers.*

At this point in the relations of the West to China it is needful to regard the past, if we would effectually arrest the Rulers of the latter in the course to inextricable confusion on which they are hurrying, and turn them into the sole route to safety.—With a misplaced cunning and conceit they presume upon the seeming advantages of unity in their dealings with the various Nations of the West, whose Representatives, from frequent changes, they see placed at a disadvantage in treating with individual Officers who are the repositories of the knowledge and will of the Imperial Court,—a disadvantage that is heightened by a restriction of the Foreign Minister to communication with this sole repository, who may even, as we have seen of late years, hold the Plenipotentiaries of all the Nations of the West disdainfully at arms' length, while limiting his written notice of their communications according as his pleasure or the exigencies of his own situation may influence him.—If we would mend their ways or improve our own position, we must look back and observe by what systematic cunning they have receded step by step from the point established under the walls of Nanking, and confirmed by the subsequent Treaties of Ke-Ying.

Politically the West made a substantial gain at Nanking in obtaining the new ports for trade as in fact so many additional *points d'appui* for future acquisitions; but we have seen of late years how nugatory the moral advantages thus promised have

"In consequence of the multiplicity of public affairs engaging my attention, I have not had leisure to instruct [the people] morning and evening. But I have promulgated the Ten Commandments to the army and the rest of the population, and have taught them all to pray morning and evening. Still those who understand the Gospel are not many. Therefore I deem it right to send the messenger • • in person to wish you peace, and to request you, my elder brother, if you are not disposed to abandon me, [come and] bring with you many brethren to help to propagate the Gospel, and administer the ordinance of baptism. So we shall obtain the true doctrine. Hereafter when my enterprise is successfully terminated, I will disseminate the doctrine throughout the whole empire, that all may return to the one Lord, and worship only the true God. This is what my heart truly desires. I refrain from alluding to other matter than the above, and say no more at present. Wishing you happiness, I am your humble servant."

HUNG SHI-TSICHEN.

• in 1854.

been rendered by the retrograde course and representing measures of the Imperial Government, which, never sincere, has steadily ignored the spirit while frequently violating the letter of the Treaties. China has chosen to regard us only as Merchants; and it will be well to examine into the past with a view to see if the rulers as well as the people have not derived their opinions on this point from the course of the British and American Governments, and from the conduct of the most of the people of those countries residing in China,—those estimable men, the Missionaries, being the marked exceptions.—It may be well to enquire if the spirit of trade, rather than that of a higher inspiration, has not been constantly over-riding all other considerations. We remember, indeed, hearing it urged at a moment of intemperate heat at Canton, that, so moderate was the *trade* of France, that great Nation had no need to fly her flag there,—much less possess a staff whereon to display it in common with the other Treaty Powers! Did not this burst of mercantile egotism furnish the key to the contempt of Chinese Mandarins,—contemptible as its spirit really must be in the eyes of all liberal minded men?—

If, then, the past has not been well employed, and the future is still less secure, it behoves us to regard the teachings of experience.

*Retrospection will teach circumspection*; and leading, as it will, to a full conception of the magnitude of the stake—the real grandeur of the work that is before the Governments of the West, will avert, alike, precipitancy, and a frittering-away upon the exigencies of the moment the golden opportunity for a permanent impression upon this least impressible of all semi-civilized peoples. It will, also, teach moderation in opinion and expression upon the movements of the chief actors in the great drama that we are witnessing, so that the good cause may not be prejudiced, here, by misdirected ideas, nor hasty assumptions be mistaken, abroad, by the noise accompanying them, for recognized and deliberate opinions:—For it will remind us that “events make shipwreck of all rash prophecy, rebuking audacious man for his fool-hardiness of speech.”

Those who saw the beginning of the

#### *First War with China,*

watched its progress, and closely observed its end, will not be found at the present time among those who attempt to fix the responsibility of this Second War upon any individual person or single event; neither will the former have the temerity to declare their ability to cut this new Gordian Knot, that has ten times the intricacy and tenacity of any other of modern times.—The greatest injustice may be done to the Diplomatic Agents of the Treaty Powers, unless the anomalous circumstances of their position are recognized; for they have the most difficult of roles. For a long period we have seen them seek interviews with the Imperial Commissioner in vain, and thus all proper access to the Government is practically refused; but if a demonstration of force—the ne-

cessity for which is a strange commentary upon the articles in the Treaties expressive of amity—overcomes this obstruction of personal intercourse, they meet a man, as this preliminary shews, whose good-faith may well be distrusted, since the obligations of Treaties have already been ignored by him.

But, should they, in another case, find an officer who personally inspires confidence in his good-faith, yet their sole access to the views of the Imperial Court is through him, the sole security of its sincerity is his word; and how precarious are settlements with such an one, let the fate of the Treaties with Ke-Shen and Ke-Ying testify!—In the former case, the Christian Negotiator treats at the greatest possible disadvantage,—for he can neither meet chicane with chicane nor convince the Pagan of his good-faith:—And in the latter, he will strive and hope in vain to establish an understanding upon the basis of reciprocal rights and duties, for in the course of his negotiations he finds that the Mandarins govern, at once, too much and too little, for such international relations; that they assume a control which practically they cannot exercise, and elude correlative duties of government on the plea of a counter popular opinion.—

Under the most favorable circumstances, then, or until the *canons* of the Navy come to redress infractions of the *canons* of the Law, it is the difficult province of the Christian Negotiator to reconcile to the ideas of civilized people and render comprehensible to Western minds, the contradictions involved in a diplomacy that shews great acuteness of mind, as opposed to the most deliberate infractions of logic; the most pretentious appeals to the “purest-reason,” and a seeming most faithful observance of diplomatic ethics, as opposed to the most deliberate bad-faith and the use of arguments which are only specious. And he has, moreover, to deal with men whom he finds always ready to take but not to give, and who make the most studied appeals to his humanity, when redress has become a duty, while they are perpetrating acts of the most cowardly barbarity against Foreigners and pursuing the most despotic and cruel policy toward their own people.

Some conception of the impracticable and vexatious nature of the relations in which a Negotiator from the West stands to the people with whom he has to deal will be gathered from the following:—

#### GLANCE AT THE ORIGINS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND WARS WITH CHINA.

“Obey and remain—disobey and depart:—there are no two ways:”—was the arrogant language of Governor Loo in 1834; and this curt text was the key-note of the Imperial Officers until Commissioner Lin’s “vaulting ambition overleaped itself” in 1839, in forcibly exacting the obedience thus enjoined by Loo.

The period indicated by the two dates forms a distinct epoch in the history of Foreign intercourse.

commencing with the arrival of Lord Napier, whose attempts to initiate the new relations in which England then stood to China in a manner befitting herself and the other Western Nations, whose representative she virtually was in thus seeking international relations, were met by the Imperial Government in the spirit disclosed by the plain words of Loo, and with an obstinate refusal to recognize Foreigners in any other capacity than that of "Supercargoes;"—and as England neglected to resent in a proper manner the indignities put upon that Noble Lord, which caused his death,—rather from the exigencies of the Government and the undefined dread of the consequences of a serious rupture with China, whose one peculiar product, alone, then produced more than 3½ millions sterling to the Revenue,\* than from the intrinsic merits and real requirements of the question, the Imperial Government was emboldened, if, indeed, it ever distrusted its own puissance, to proceed from one measure of repression to another until the climax already adverted to was reached by Lin, in the forcible imprisonment of all the Foreigners at Canton in March 1839, and the exaction as their ransom of more than 20,000 Chests of Opium, which resulted in what has been most erroneously denominated by way of reproach,—“the *Opium War*.”

The origin of almost every war, of modern times certainly, is in principles,—in a wide divergence of ideas preceding the circumstance that lights the torch, which is the mere incident of such a state of relations.

Without such intrinsic right no Prince or People of Christendom dare engage in war, for no Government can now disregard the collective sense of justice of mankind. This prevailing sense of right, as opposed to individual will, is the fore-runner of that “peace and good will” which shall, at length, universally prevail;—and it is a sad reflection that the walls of prejudice which exclude this beneficent spirit can only be surmounted by climbing over hecatombs of victims.

The germ of the First War with China, alike with this, was, essentially, in principles,—in the antagonism always existing at the basis of the relations of the Christian West with the Pagan East; and the origin of the present, if it be represented as confined to the accidental circumstance that revealed the latent fire, as a spark ignites a volcano, will be as much misrepresented and obscured as was that of the, so called, “*Opium War*.”

There are, indeed, not wanting the characteristics of a rather striking parallel between the two epochs preceding the two Wars, although the immediate circumstances attending the out-break in each case reveal the marked change in the relative positions of the two Powers wrought, locally, in the meantime:—The first period being that comprised

between the termination of the East India Company's monopoly and the violent measures accompanying the advent of Lin; and the last period that between the marked indications of hostility in 1846 and 1847, and the recent overt acts of Yeh;—the two shewing a similar progress from bad to worse, and each leaving a final accumulation of complicated difficulties as the legacy of a course of unworthy expedients and abortive attempts. Thus, we find in the first period, that the neglect of England to assert becomingly the rights and dignity of the West, against the Imperial policy so offensively promulgated by Loo, and especially her remissness in leaving the death of Lord Napier unatoned for, led from year to year to fresh difficulties and dangers, until, finally, the pride of the Imperial Court became so inflated that it cast off all reserve;—and espousing the views of the party in the state most inimical to Foreigners, proceeded upon a course of policy toward them which shewed little less than a complete reversal of the caution and professed moderation which had ostensibly characterized it previously. Undoubtedly the motives were of a mixed nature, and that apprehensions of encroachment upon the cherished policy of political and social isolation formed a large portion of them, for the knocking at the portals of China was already reverberating at Peking. The relations subsisting during the monopoly of the East India Company were quite intolerable save to a limited community of Merchants whose interests were best subserved by a continuance of them. The spirit of trade had over-ridden all other considerations, and led to acquiescence in acts which we forbear to narrate. But now,—too long delayed already,—a less narrow spirit had been infused along with free trade, and no longer were individual rights to be sacrificed to monopoly. The tendency of the age toward expansion—to an enlargement and greater activity of intercourse—had reached Canton, and resolute men were no longer to be deterred from knocking loudly at the city gates with their grievances, by threats to stop the trade.

It was not strange, therefore, that the Emperor and his Ministers should have at least an undefined dread of the consequences of greater freedom and strive to avert them; nor was it strange that in casting about for the most available pretence for awe-inspiring promulgations of the Imperial will, they should, in their political sagacity, select the Opium trade as that from which they could draw the most odium upon Foreigners.—But the vacillation and indecision shewn by it upon the Opium question the two previous years, throw suspicion upon the motives of the Imperial Court, which leave little doubt, now that all other circumstances can be fully considered and the subsequent action of the Government can be retrospectively viewed, that the principal purpose of the sudden and severe measures taken was the resubjection of all Foreigners to the strict rules of a former period. The revival in its full force of this policy of repression

\* After a desperate struggle at home, which ended with the downfall of monopoly, and the most memorable assertion of the principles of free trade down to that period, in England, by the determination of the privileges of the East India Company.

• Since, it has nearly doubled in amount.

and it is incumbent upon him at this moment of release to fix the earliest period for removal from a situation of total insecurity, and for the termination of all risk of similar responsibility on the part of her majesty's government. He is sensible too, that he could not swerve from the purposes now to be declared, without extreme danger to vast public claims already pending, and to general and permanent interests of highest moment."

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT.

*Chief Superintendent of Trade of British subjects in China.*

We close our view of the first epoch with the republication of a letter that we wrote in 1840, which was published in the New York 'Express,' when the authentic accounts of the serious purposes of redress entertained by the British Government had just reached us.

Referring to the opinion we therein emphatically expressed *that the demands of England could then only be "properly or successfully" made at Peking,* and to the approximate sum of money we then anticipatively stated, we reserve further comment for the opening of our proposed final glance at the origin of the present War.

To the Editor of the *New York Express.*

CANTON, June 5th, 1840.

"Believing that your paper meets the eyes of those most directly interested in the matter—the *Merchants*, and is the medium, also, through which the rights of those interested indirectly but deeply, are sustained,—the *Ladies*, I beg leave to offer you briefly the result of a view of the present position of the Tea Trade taken by one who has not left this *observatory* in three years; but who pretends to no more than an indifferent talent to discover the relative merits of near or distant objects and proposes to himself no more than to submit the Panorama upon which he has looked to the gaze of your readers,—leaving to their nicer judgment to bestow the different shades of colouring and to give to each object its proper position and prominence.

"In so doing I do not attempt (an impossibility) to convey a clear and detailed account of what has occurred,—of the vicissitudes to which the trade has been subject during the last year—(it being now a few days more than a year since the British Superintendent and subjects left for Macao)—for to do so would require more time than I have, and more paper than your "Daily" covers, whilst much would be repetition of the already published "news from China."

"But I accompany this with three Nos. of the Repository, which contain articles of much interest, and which will aid, somewhat, the reader of this in obtaining a correct view of the situation of affairs and of the prospects of this country, politically considered, and as affecting Foreign Trade and intercourse.

"I refer particularly to the articles in the January No. No. 1 and No. 6; in the February No., to the articles Nos. 1 and 6; and in the April No. to articles Nos. 2, 3 and 8,—those being from the

"pens of gentlemen best qualified, from long intercourse with the people and knowledge of the language; as well as from their having no direct interest in commerce, to give an impartial and enlightened opinion; and I believe these will be sufficient to impart the feeling now universally entertained in the East,—that a new Era has dawned upon China and upon Foreign Nations in their intercourse with it.

"Commending, therefore, the Periodical to your notice, as a work in which correct sentiments are generally expressed, I proceed to offer my own remarks.

"It is no longer a question if England purposes the exercise of power upon this Empire, for the sounds of preparation are wafted to us by every breeze from the Bay of Bengal.

"Whilst nothing is allowed to transpire in England as to the intentions of Government, orders have been received at the seat of Government in India to equip a powerful Land and Sea armament, which is being done with great activity.—All doubt as to the Force being an efficient one is at an end;—it is to be sufficient to powerfully coerce the Empire.

"And the object of England being the re-establishment of the legal Trade, upon a definite and sure basis, the question arises how far she can use coercion without sacrificing her permanent interests, or involving herself in a struggle of long continuance, or in a War of conquest!

"Without a knowledge of the nature of the demands to be made of the Emperor, it is very difficult for those on the spot, even, to predict the reception of the Ambassadors,—who come as never before Ambassadors approached the Throne of the "Son of Heaven."—commanding a Powerful Force!

"It is still doubtful whether the Earl of Auckland—Governor General of India, will be relieved of that office and come on in person; but the general belief seems to be that he will delegate the full power held by him to the Admiral of the Fleet and the General of the Army;—the latter of whom is (said to be) Lieutenant General, the Hon'ble Sir Robert Arbuthnot, Commander-in-Chief at Ceylon. The appointment of this officer to the Command of the Land forces is one of the indications, among the many, which Government, with the greatest secrecy possible, cannot prevent the publicity of, of the intention to send a Force that it will be dangerous for the Emperor to trifle with.

"And when we reflect upon the transfer of the Foreign Relations from the hands of Merchants, in which they have been for centuries, to those of soldiers and sailors, whose profession is that of arms—and who reckon Treasure as nothing in comparison with National honour, dignity and glory; and remember, too, the haughty character of this people, their deep-rooted prejudices and erroneous ideas of their own greatness and strength—fostered as they have been for

"centuries by the submission of Merchants interested directly in the continuance of the Trade, joined with the many circumstances affecting the questions with England;—when I reflect upon all these points, I cannot but believe that blood must and will flow ere the Emperor will listen merely. Suppose an apology for the insult done England in the Person of her Representative and subjects is demanded at Peking, as sure it will be,—where only it can be demanded successfully or properly,—why, the assumption of superiority and universal Empire by China for so many centuries must be relinquished—must fall at the feet of the invaders and in its fall the integrity of the Empire receive a shock that shall reach from beyond the Great Wall to the Southern Sea, and from Formosa to the confines of British India—undermining the Throne itself!

"But suppose the demands should be what rumour says they will be :—For the full value of the opium confiscated ; the Hong debts ; the expenses of this Expedition—say Twenty millions of Dollar !!—beside full reparation for injured honour :—What would not China dare do before she submits to such degradation—such disgrace in the eyes of her own people?—Why, she could only fight till she finds fighting fraught with greater peril than abject submission, when she would use gold—a *Weapon* that she has often found more potent than her sword.—

"But the necessity must be very pressing to extract such an immense sum of Treasure from this country;—not that it is poor,—it is very rich, but that such a degree of submission would be too heavy a disgrace before its own subjects,—moreover, it would only be obtained by forced contributions from those subjects themselves, for the Government itself is poor ; and I believe that a considerable period of time will be required to inflict it.—

"But *what* she will demand we know not : nor what tone England will assume in other respects :—Whether she will be ready to propose a compromise touching the opium question. It must be confessed, however, that the vesting the power for the settlement of the question in Lord Auckland—Governor General of those colonies where the drug is now daily sold by Government for the China market, affords ground for the general belief that the demands will embrace all that I have named ; but the manner of liquidating the pecuniary claims may be compromised by the grant of Commercial privileges and full security for the future.—provided the apology for the insult offered England is full and satisfactory.—

"On the other hand England does not come in her might to sacrifice her Revenue of £4,000,000 Sterling, Four millions of Pounds Sterling Duties on Tea per annum, but, if possible, to make its receipt more certain and to augment it :—But, again, on the other, England is at this moment occupying a more elevated position than ever before in Western India,—and Persia is at her feet.—

"Victoria would be an Elizabeth too!—Lord Auckland is just made an Earl and is flushed with success in Western India and Persia.

"Mark ! England lulls suspicion in Europe by sending out but half a dozen Frigates,—while in India she makes great preparations!—What is the meaning?—A new settlement it is said is to be formed.—Where?—On the main Land of China?

"Indeed, this struggle between the "oldest Nation of the Earth" and the most powerful Naval Power in Europe—the World, is fraught with consequence of the most momentous nature ;—such as but few in the world properly comprehend and appreciate.

"Heaven grant that in its results it be beneficial, as it may, to both—to the whole world.—

"I am, Sir,—Your obedient Servant,  
"AN AMERICAN."

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In the general view that we have presented of the field of controversy between China and the West we had reached the point of time when the Government of England had determined upon serious measures of redress ; and there we ventured to refer to a letter of our own, written at Canton on the 5th June 1840, in which we treated of the first War and incidentally conveyed our own opinions upon some important points. We have taken this liberty with our readers because we find a retrospective view vivified by a contemporaneous *exposé* of the situation, although it be but a sketch ; but chiefly, also, because the opinions we thus expressed, more than sixteen years ago, have now the test of time and experience vouching for their value to embolden us to a publication of them here, and a reiteration of the more important of them, which has now, even more than then, a comprehensiveness of meaning :—namely :—the indispensable necessity to proceed to Peking for redress of past wrongs and security for future rights.

This is the "voice of the past" that we venture to echo to day,—not our own feeble wail for opportunities lost.

Do you again ask why were opportunities lost and who was accountable for the loss ?—We reply that no individual is accountable for them, and that if blame be imputable it can only be attributed to a ministry wanting in a true perception of the intrinsic nature of the question, or in the power to give effect to its convictions ; and we, rather, assign as the controlling reason a concession to what must now be characterized as a lamentable and foolish sentimentalism, which seemed to impose upon the Government the necessity to limit its force to a number quite inadequate to the ultimate requirements of a proper or permanent adjustment of the question—in the pursuance of a conciliatory course toward China.—In this connection we have to point out that when writing the letter of June 1840, we were laboring under two misconceptions. One as to the force intended being much more powerful ; the other, that the preparations, being in India,

were kept private in Europe and America ;—whereas, the British Government, in the sense that the movements of England concerned the other Christian Nations, had communicated its purposes of redress to the American Government, and disclaiming more than such redress and security for its citizens in future, had restricted its force so far within a requisite one for conquest, that it was quite inadequate to the real requirements of the occasion.

We have seen that England, by reason of her dominant power in India and the magnitude of her material stake in the commerce of China, became the asserter of international rights and comity ; but we find that her Government did not relinquish its policy of conciliation in sending an armed force to strengthen the hands of its Officers and render its representations to the Imperial Court effective :—Thus, the expectation which we have reason to think Captain Elliot entertained, that the Bogue Forts would be destroyed on the arrival of the forces, as a suitable blow of redress for the local insult of imprisonment, before proceeding to the North to make representations, was disappointed ; and Chusan was seized avowedly only for security and as a port of safety pending the representations to the Emperor.

The British forces did not reach Macao Roads until the last of June 1840, more than 15 months after the imprisonment, nor was a conference obtained by the Plenipotentiaries at Tientsin until the 31st of August. The promises of the Imperial Commissioner were unexceptionable ; but if they had not been, the season was too far advanced to move the forces into the Gulf of Pechellee,—if, indeed, the English Government ever intended so moderate a force to attempt a movement upon Peking.

The British Officers, whether fully confiding in the Imperial Commissioner or not, had no alternative but to return to the Canton River, and await the promised examination by Keshen, who was deputed by the Emperor to proceed there to investigate, and then satisfy the British demands.—Captain Elliot obtained Keshen's acquiescence in them after destroying the Forts at Cheunpi and the Treaty ceding Hongkong (instead of Chuenpi, which was first demanded by Captain Elliot,) was made on the 20th of January 1841 ; but the Chinese resumed hostilities on the 23rd of February, and Ke-Shen was sent as a State prisoner to Peking on the succeeding 12th of March, soon after which Yihshan and Ke Kung came to Canton as Generalissimos with a large force. In the meantime an armistice had been agreed upon at Canton, after the outer defences had been forced by the British, and the forced trade proceeded until the 21st of May, when it was found that the Chinese had treacherously purposed the destruction of all Foreigners ; and while a few lives were lost many Merchants had but narrow escapes.\*—The

policy of conciliation had proved a grievous error already in January, and now the day of retaliation upon the city of Canton itself had arrived, and the city was partially bombarded, in return for the dastardly night attack upon schooners and other vessels lying in the river ; and on the 25th of May the British forces surrounded it. In the meantime the Factories had been pillaged and several Americans captured and taken into the city, after one had been killed in an attack on a ship's boat.

Such, then, was the bad-faith and cruel treachery of the Chinese after the persistence of England in a course of moderation and conciliation for nearly two years after the imprisonment of all the Foreigners and the seizure of Opium.

Well may natives of every Foreign Country exclaim, as we have heard them, that it is a pity the retaliatory measures against Canton were not more severe. Undoubtedly greater punishment then would have had a salutary effect upon our subsequent relations with its people ; but in the first place, it must be borne in mind that down to that period the Imperial Court was solely chargeable with the bad-faith and treachery shewn toward Foreigners ; in the second place, Canton was the sole port whence Tea could be obtained, and it was part of the policy of the Ministry of the day to avert from a needy Treasury if possible any loss of the Duties on Tea ; in the third place, it was highly important to begin the campaign at the north without delay, on account of the monsoon ; and, in the fourth place, persistence in the measures of capturing the city involved protracted labor and fatigues to a force whose effective strength was but about 2,600 men, and whose efficiency was already much impaired by the effects of climate,—the exigencies of which had not been sufficiently provided against by Government. To remain and follow up the siege and capture of Canton was, therefore, to incur great sacrifices in many respects, nor were there wanting elements of uncertainty as to the final result.

We consider the much criticised moderation of Captain Elliot in accepting the ransom of six millions of Dollars and payment for the sack of the Factories, therefore, as highly creditable to him as a Christian Officer, whether we give predominance in this act to his well-known instincts of benevolence or to those of prudence and foresight.

We have seen that so soon as the bad faith of the Imperial Court was no longer doubtful the decision and energy of H. E. became conspicuous :—that on the wavering of Ke-shen, in December, he destroyed some of the Bogue Forts early in January ; then obtaining the cession of Hongkong, he took possession of it the same month : that subsequently, having unequivocal evidence of the hostile reaction at Peking, he completed the capture of the defences of the River and forced the Trade open at Canton, and so kept it, with ships and steamers there stationed, until the treacherous attempt to cut-off all the Foreigners there in May, as already stated ; that then he laid siege to the

\* The writer escaped in the last boat to Whampoa, late at night, with nothing but the thin linen clothing he had on.



City and compelled it to ransom :—In the interval a very large quantity of Tea had been shipped to England and America and a large quantity of Import merchandize had been sold ; and the moral effect of his ability to force the Trade was very salutary. He might well have been justified if his movements had borne the character of a recompensing retaliation for the reluctance he had before shewn to distrust the purposes of the Emperor's Government ; but disregarding the public offers of \$50,000, for his head, he seemed totally forgetful of himself and solely intent upon the measures of redress for his country's wrongs.

He saw the high-minded Minister whom his disposition had conciliated and his diplomacy had convinced, degraded and sent a state prisoner to Peking, and his generous spirit was aroused, yet neither his discretion nor his pity for the innocent ever forsook his noble mind ;—and hence he disregarded the popular clamor of the day, and accepted ransom for Canton, coupled with conditions of the most stringent kind in the interest of his country, whose infraction in the least particular left him always at liberty to return and destroy the City,—a consequence clearly pointed out by H. E. The Trade forced in April was to remain open and unclogged and none of the defences were to be rebuilt.

Thus most capably conducting affairs at Canton and organizing the Government of Hongkong, when he had reached this point he proceeded at once with all possible expedition, but with means quite inadequate to the necessities of the situation, to prepare for the campaign at the North ; but first, sickness amongst the Troops, the result of exposure at Canton,—at once his misfortune and his justification,—rendered it necessary to await reinforcements from India,—and then, a heavy Typhoon, on the 21st of July, in which both H. E. and Sir Gordon Bremer were shipwrecked and nearly lost, detained them until the 10th of August, when, just as they were about leaving for the North, Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker arrived to supersede them both.

Before following these two Chiefs, into whose hands fell swords without scabbards, and whose way had been so well cleared before them, we stop to record our admiration of Charles Elliot, whose services were requited by recall, and yet to impartial eyes were of high desert if not brilliant.—We saw him, at once intrepid and wise, displaying great tact and judgment in contending with the complicated difficulties of the period, himself at the outset laboring under the disadvantage of being, as "Chief Superintendent of Trade," only recognized in the character of "Head Merchant" by the officers of the Imperial Government ; we saw him in despite of this, surmounting the obstacles raised by the prejudices of centuries, allaying the enmities engendered by the excesses of the Opium Trade, and convincing every Chinese mind with which he came in contact at once of the reasonableness of his demands and the peril

of a refusal of them :—Thus leaving upon every transaction with the Mandarins the impress of his genius.

Obscured by the circumstances of the Ministry and the clamor of the hour, his services, on which had depended in an hour of extreme peril the lives of all Foreigners at Canton and the honor of his country,—nay, upon whom alone fell the responsibility at that moment of peril of asserting the rights of all the Western Nations in the persons of their Citizens,—services which then commanded the admiration and gratitude of all ;—these extraordinary services, along with those other protracted and arduous ones, from March 1839 to August 1841, were wholly ignored, and instead of the rewards generally predicted for him, he was *re-called from China* ! His re-call was undoubtedly a measure intended to simplify the question with the Court or Peking,—which having, at first, apparently, met conciliatory remonstrances and claims of redress in the spirit attributed to the Emperor by H. E., suddenly reversed its policy, disgraced its Minister, who had just negotiated a Treaty of Peace, and recommenced hostilities.

Ke-Shen was thus sacrificed ;—but the sacrifice of Elliot was no logical consequence, surely, of that !

Quite the contrary was it ;—and yet no honorary recognition of services so arduous, perplexing, and if rightly-viewed, really successful, recompensed this act—in itself misconceived as one of exigence to the good of the State.\*

When China disgraced her specially-deputed High Commissioner under such circumstances, it was no doubt a proper step of retaliation for England to withdraw her Plenipotentiary and assume, as she then must, of necessity, a new attitude forbidding misconception of her stern determination to obtain redress and provide for future security.

China had herself widened the breach after due warning and friendly remonstrance, and the convictions of her trusted Minister had resulted in a Treaty ceding Hongkong. The peril to permanent interests seemed greatly increased, and a total change of policy was demanded. Sir Henry Pottinger was sent out as the exponent of this new policy ; but when he got here he found that his predecessor had been pursuing this new line of policy ever since the hostile purposes of China became apparent, and with great effect,—although the forces at his command were inadequate to protracted service at Canton. And the only anomalous circumstance presented on his arrival was one that H. E. was fain to avail of, albeit with a show

\* Subsequently he was sent upon a difficult mission to the new Republic of Texas, and a show of public justification was made by the Tory Leaders of the Lords and Commons, in default of such by the Whig Government which he had served here.—Since which he has been successively Governor of Bermuda and other British Colonies, and now holds the rank of Rear Admiral in the Navy. Since writing the above we rejoice to hear that he has been made a K. C. B.



of disregard, as one of great concern to the British Treasury. We mean the continued export of Tea from Canton:—The genius of Sir Charles Elliot having applied a lever whereby the trade could be worked there while War should be relentlessly proceeded with at the North;—and thus instead of *breaking this Canton Tea-pot*, as clamor called upon him, in effect, to do, he kept it warm and *productive* both of the beverage and the Duties to the British Exchequer.

Thus was the truth apprehended by us the year before, when in our letter of June, 1840, we said that England was “not coming here in her *“might to sacrifice* her revenue of £4,000,000 Stl. *“per annum* from the duties upon Tea; but if possible to make its receipt more certain, and to *“augment it.”*

Prior to this clever solution of this important Tea and Revenue problem any other nation would have felt greater liberty of action.—would have been freer of self-imposed fetters; but England, still, as would any other Christian Nation, felt the justly-restraining influences imposed by the peculiar situation and state of China, which may be comprised in a phrase we used in the letter of 1840, in illustration of the delicacy and difficulty of the question, as *“the integrity of the Empire”* being imperilled if any but the most cautious policy were pursued.—

And the restriction of the land force even below the actual requirements of such a line of policy, which compelled delays for reinforcements, indicates a determination to make a mere demonstration, rather than to proceed to an extensive exercise of force.—lest measures intended for simple repress and future security should cause fears of aggression, and, arousing a spirit of patriotism, impose upon England immense incidental sacrifices at the outset, in addition to actual expenses, while leading her from one step of necessity to another into a war of conquest.—

Thus was England, in her care for the integrity of the Government of the Tartar Emperor, on whose stability she conceived the prosperity of her own material interests to rest, compelled to what now can only appear as a wretched “hand to mouth” policy; and what has been her reward for this forbearance?

This question we shall answer by and bye.—

Fourteen months had thus passed since we wrote the letter of 1840, and our main predicate—that *Peking must be reached to demand satisfaction either successfully or properly*—had been kept aside for want of adequate means of accomplishment,—the withholding of which served only the more clearly to exhibit the restraining motives by which the British Government was actuated, and to which we had, anticipatively, given prominence, although we had made them subordinate to the proper assertion of the dignity of England at Peking, as in our view the first requisite of an effectual solution of the question.

At this point in the struggle, then, it is seen

that in the mere *coup d'ail* we thus presented we had penetrated to the intrinsic elements of the question, and had thence foreshadowed the obscurity and the need of the light which was only to be obtained at the fountain-head of the East, where, moreover, were most wanted the penetrating rays of our Western effulgence to reveal its own relative gloom. To obtain this access to the Imperial Court and maintain a becoming attitude before it, would have required a larger force than England ever had in China, and before it had been attained the question of supremacy, suggested in our letter of 1840, would no doubt have demanded solution, so that whilst we might say that England's stumbling-block in the first War was compounded of many and various materials, yet we shall take a more philosophical view of her relations to China by admitting that all preceding action was in such a case but the necessary preliminary of the *ultima ratio regum*,—*actual War* between two Governments whose respective stand-points were so wide asunder.

At length the necessities of the situation forbade longer parley;—for it was found then, as it will be now, that *China listens sincerely to none but knock-down arguments, and yields to nothing but superior strategy*;—that she will not see, she will not believe—until practical hints become the gravest of realities!—

Before Christendom, as before China herself, the way had thus been cleared by Sir Charles Elliot, and henceforth War was to proceed toward Peking; but confined to the more accessible parts of the sea coast, until the increased necessities of the new campaign of the succeeding year (1842) led to the expedition up the Yang-tze-kiang.

It was a great stroke of strategy to compass the seizures of the positions of Chin-kiang-foo and Nanking, and one that was prominent in the mind of the time; but the hazards of its execution and the requirements of the maintenance of the position actually attained, were such as to enjoin upon Sir Henry Pottinger the importance of making the most of the opportunity in effecting his negotiations with the Imperial Commissioners; and the Treaty of Nanking was the result to the two Countries, accompanied by generous rewards to himself and to the Military and Naval Chiefs,—but with none for his predecessor and—what for Morrison and Thom?

This grand *coup* of the Foreigner at the gates of the great arteries of the Empire, has been followed if not imitated by a Native, who has fully executed the master-stroke;—and who, by other feats of strategy and a wielding of moral power still more astonishing, has become the most remarkable man of his time and country;—and whose career,—traced back by its greatest apparent incentive to the teaching of Protestant Missionaries,—has exercised an influence upon Foreign relations that will demand further notice before we complete our sketch.

About a year had been consumed in War at the

North, without any decisive result, or any very apparent impression upon the Empire, when the terror inspired by the then ascertained ability of the British thus to penetrate into the heart of the Country, more than any actual reverses of the Chinese troops, led to the Treaty at the Gates of Nanking on the 29th of August, 1842,—just in good time to save the invaders the gravest embarrassments. Well might the Ministry welcome such a result from the inadequate means provided, and generously reward the Chiefs who had snatched victory from a surprised and astonished, rather than a conquered, enemy.

But a recoiling popular wave was to come and beat against the fair fabric of Peace, even before the panic-stricken Mandarins should revive the force of their more subtle policy.

It came from Canton, and the constant ebb and flow of the tide of affairs since has kept it in motion between that unruly province and Peking, until the foundations then laid, and afterward apparently cemented by the enlightened policy of Ke-Ying, have been undermined completely, leaving only a hollow shell,—if, indeed, it does not cover a mass of inflammable bitterness and hate.

Having leaped over the incidents of the War as it progressed Northward, merely to note its conclusion before Nanking, (it being no part of our purpose to write a narrative of it), we now revert to the position of affairs at Canton, where the concurrent anomalous circumstances of an open trade, with its immunities from the pressure of war, however fruitful it might be, the while, of Revenue to the British Exchequer, was also producing fruits of bitterness for the future.—

When Sir Henry Pottinger returned from the North, the elements of a new War already existed at Canton;—the smouldering embers of hostility soon emitting, indeed, something more palpable than smoke, and louder than low volcanic mutterings.

In short, the Treaty never was really acquiesced in there, either by the Gentry or “the able-bodied of the people”;—neither of whom were forgetful of the sinister teachings of Lin, or the traditional inculcation of contempt, annually if not more frequently repeated publicly by their Rulers, and who had moreover the counterfeited semblance of victory to inflate their own pride.—

“The elements of a new War,” we say, “existed already at Canton,”—and why?

Because the Peace was no more accepted by a powerful party at Peking than by the people of Canton; and these heated Protestants at the two ends of the Empire were henceforth destined to carry on a mutual inflation of pride, and by degrees to obtain the ascendancy in the imperial Councils, leading to the displacement of Ke-Ying, and step by step to another War. The first practical Protest against the Treaty of Peace we saw, and never shall forget!—for we then beheld the mob as many infuriated wild beasts let loose, without check or hindrance, upon the Foreign residences

at Canton; we saw respectably-dressed Chinese incite the vulgar, and assisting them to make a battering-ram of a portion of the fence of the American Garden, use it against the wall of the “Company’s Garden”—then pertaining to the British Consulate and thus gaining access to the Flag-staff, *set that on fire, the flag still flying!*

These proceedings we watched, nor did our eyes leave the scene until the ships’ boats sent to the rescue of the community from Whampoa arrived the next morning in time to save the life and property remaining. At its inception this movement was purely political; and when, some five hours after being summoned by ourselves, the Government Soldiers arrived on the ground, they fired their matchlocks in the air.

The seeds of Lin’s sowing had taken root and left the Mandarins incapable if not unwilling to restrain the people; and similar indications of political rancor have since been frequent.

In tracing the origin and growth of the arrogant insolence of the people of Canton, the question again arises as to the mistakes of Foreign officers in regard to it; and another, especially, as to whether the Imperial Court has dealt with that matter in good faith. We find no difficulty in answering the last of these questions; but as respects the first one we reiterate our opinions in the general sense of exoneration of the British officers, and especially of Captain Elliot, with the following further statement as to the period between the assumption of authority by Sir Henry Pottinger and the Treaty of Nankin, to whose relative responsibility we have already alluded.

We have shewn the constraining reasons for the ransom of Canton in May, and that the terms of the Truce left perfect liberty of action to the British Officers, and that in this sense Sir Henry Pottinger warned the Mandarins of his intention to inflict summary retribution if any act of hostility was committed or any steps to impede the navigation of the River by rebuilding the fortifications, were taken.—The Generalissimoes having reported to the Emperor the falsehood that they had driven the English away, orders came from Peking to rebuild the Fortifications, and this was first stealthily and then boldly proceeded with without any but some quite abortive attempts to prevent it by Captain Nias of H. M. Ship “*Herald*,” who was left in charge of the small moveable force to protect Hongkong and contend for, (it being out of his power to compel)—the observance of the conditions of the Truce.

It was fully expected by the Chinese generally that the forces would return and exact retribution; but orders having come from the Emperor based upon the lying reports of Yihshan and the others (who were afterward sentenced to death for cowardice and these false statements,) the authorities were compelled to fulfil them, although as we well remember they and the people acquainted with Foreigners had been so impressed by the prompt action of Captain Elliot that they dreaded the ful-

filment of the threats of punishment for these infractions of the Truce.—When, however, time ran on without any more serious effort to stop the re-fortification of the River than the partial bombardments of Captain Nias at the Blenheim Reach or Macao—passage barrier, the authorities and people persevered, and eventually completed several new Forts between Whampoa and Canton before the Treaty of Nanking was concluded.—Sir Henry Pottinger remaining at the North, though well informed of all these violations of the Truce.—

It was to be expected, therefore, that it would be assumed at Peking, as it was on the spot, that the British were afraid to return to the attack of Canton; and there is no doubt that this impression had an influence upon the Court in the prolongation of the War.—Here is a period of nearly a year during which this matter was pending and becoming aggravated; and no force was sent to strike this most needed blow of all—that required to restore the *prestige* of England at Canton, attained by the operations from November to June, and in peril through misrepresentations, which a timely movement would contradict for ever. In regard to all this we see and we may say that it would have been better-judged to have left Amoy and some other Northern posts without Garrisons during the Winter; but here again we must exonerate the individual Officers, in a broad view of the question, and point out once more that the fault was with the Ministry in sending a force inadequate to the requirements of the extensive warfare that became necessary, and which they seem never to have foreseen,—rather than in an improper distribution of his moderate force by Sir Henry Pottinger; for he soon learnt from this very case of Canton that to capture a place and not to hold it, was to enable the Mandarins to gloze over defeat, or even claim to have driven the invaders away!—

This neglect was the greatest palpable error of the War, as we have before characterized it, the blame of which falls primarily upon Sir Henry Pottinger, who threatened what he never fulfilled; but if we refuse to circumscribe our view within the limits prescribed by the moderate means placed at his disposal by the Government, we find in this, as in all other cases, that the blame reverts to the Ministry,—who failing first in a comprehensive grasp of the question, or wanting courage to grapple with its difficulties, provided so inadequate a force that the alternative finally forced upon their Officers found them unable to cope with it, and compelled them to pursue an unworthy “hand to mouth” policy which was the more dangerous because more likely to lead, with such a people, to a War of conquest, than the dealing of heavy and rapid blows would have been.—

Pointing out, as we do, that in a retrospective view of philosophical breadth, the several movements of England down to the repudiation of Ke-Shen's Treaty take their places as appropriate preliminaries of War, we cannot exclude from such a com-

prehensive survey the want of adequate provision for this alternative of the choice offered to China;—a want that obtrudes itself at every step after the Imperial Court had thus clearly indicated the course which it had elected to pursue.

One of the greatest of errors in war is the despising or undervaluing of the enemy because he cannot stand before you in the open field; and it is all the greater if his “name is Legion” and you have to attack him upon his own soil:—If compelled to hide, he will be only the more busy and subtle in plotting in the dark. Neither should it be forgotten that the elements often *fight well* for the veriest cowards; and that those cowards are fain to avail themselves of this assistance, in their blind or simulated superstition, to claim from such supernatural agency a *prestige* denied to their own arms.

It was thus that on the evacuation of the heights of Canton in 1841, the Mandarins claimed that the interposition of the Gods, clearly seen in the lightning and tempest, had driven the English away!—And thus was seen the need to make every step forward a sure and sustained one, in order that the people might feel the real weight of England's arm, and that the truth might penetrate to the personally inaccessible Court of the Emperor, in despite of falsifying Mandarins.

In short, the fundamental error of the British Government was in forgetting the teaching of their own experience in India with a similar enemy, which may be comprised in the antithetical proposition that *not to advance is to recede*.

Such was the experience in the first war, and such, too, has marked the, so-called, period of peace:—In *War*, China never knows when or where to yield; in *Peace*, her Mandarins meet every friendly advance with a recoil:—Always impracticable—generally obtusely obstinate;—a kind of fatality leads them on to———*may we not hope, to the good of the people, if to their own destruction?*

In all this we see the Tartars as much at fault in domestic politics as in Foreign relations,—indeed their aberrations in statesmanship are more glaring in home than in foreign affairs; and such was the nature of the issue with England at Canton in 1842 that there is no doubt the whole aspect of political affairs would have been changed, and the Emperor's rule more firmly established—possibly even the Revolution averted for a time, at least,—if Sir Henry Pottinger could have effectually redressed the infractions of the truce by curbing the hostile spirit of the Cantonese,—which in resistance of the Treaty became afterward, in effect and *prima facie*, as much Rebellion against the Imperial Government as hate of the Foreigner. But there was underlying all the professed readiness of the Government to fulfil the Treaty,—which was no doubt so far sincere that it longed for the restoration of Chusan especially,—a cherished liking of this untamable spirit of the Canton people as exhibited against the Foreigners.

It was the old policy reflected back upon Peking,

and gladly welcomed there as an earnest of the continued loyalty of the Province nearest the contaminating influence of the rule of the feared and hated English.

The legacy of the traditional and cherished policy of exclusion, whose chosen exponent, Lin, had recently so imprudently used the prejudices bound up with it to form as it were so many inflammable balls to throw into the hands of the people, it was blindly welcomed at Peking.

It was thus that this implacable spirit,—born of the submissions of a former period; augmented by the words and acts of Lin; checked awhile by the energy of Elliot; gathering head again from the remissness or inability of Sir Henry Pottinger;—became, at length, formidable to both the Foreigners and the Imperial Government, and has to this day prevented the fulfilment of the engagements of the latter.

The treaty of Nanking, then, was a Treaty of Peace in but a limited sense, and we see the anomaly of Trade at Canton with War at the North, succeeded by another which is little less than its reversal,—Peace at the North and War at Canton; and the significant fact for our consideration to day is, that this recommencement of war at Canton was a distinct *protest* against the treaty.

This Protest involves the double or mixed question, already noticed, of the authority of the Imperial Government and its relations to Foreign Powers, and confers upon a matter which is of perfect simplicity in well-governed countries, a character of complexity. The question that first occurs in regard to it is, obviously, whether the Sovereign who claims exoneration under such a principle as that his responsibility is to cease where the influence of the turbulent portion of his people begins, is to be recognized, or whether these people are to be dealt with directly?—the term Sovereign being in such case a misnomer.

The second question that arises is—has that Government, so-called, in respect to its Treaty engagements, dealt with the issue made by such portion of its people in perfect good faith? The want of a practically distinct answer to the first question has led to much confusion, not to say conflict of opinion, appearing as it does to leave a great deal to be said upon both sides of any argument in respect to the international obligations of the Imperial Government, the bias of the civilized mind of the time favoring an indulgent view of such questions. Obviously, direct responsibility should rest somewhere, in justice to the Foreigner, for he is constantly prejudiced by the anomalous nature of the subsisting relations. At every point he is met by the Imperial Government by evasions, by calls for concessions, for moderation, or for direct assistance, until the question arises again and again, how long shall it abuse the disposition to reconcile these departures from the code of Western comity? But these laches, for which a prescriptive character might almost be claimed, are found to be

secondary infractions of the obligations of Treaties, when the inquiry required by the second question is pursued through the period from the Treaty of Nanking to the present time, for the answer thus obtained is unequivocal, and has long been patent to all observant persons in China.

Responsible as the Imperial Government was for the indignities put upon Lord Napier; the violent acts and inflammatory words of Lin; the cruel treacheries of Yihshan and his fellows; the infractions of the Truce at Canton at a later period;—not to mention its systematic and frequent inculcations of hostility to foreigners in various ways for a long period of time;—what step did it ever take to allay the whirlwind of passion and prejudice that it had raised at Canton against the Foreigners? Who of the Imperial Officers ever addressed themselves to the task of eradicating the poison thus administered to the minds of the multitude?

ILIPU dropped a few bland exhortations and generalities upon the troubled waters, which served rather as indications of a weak will or a want of power than a determination to compel obedience; and it may be doubted if they did not embolden instead of deterring the evil disposed.

KE-YING, alone, shewed unequivocal sincerity in this respect; but along with it there was apparent a timid desire to conciliate the disaffected, which betrayed a want of confidence in the sentiments of the Court or a want of Imperial power in the Province. And when we remember that KE-YING was recalled and Su appointed in his place,—he who after the successive riots at Canton, and the murder of the six Englishmen at Wang-chuki, erected the Triumphal Arches to commemorate the expulsion of the English,—can we doubt that the feeling at the Court was responsive to the hostile acts at Canton?—KE-YING degraded and Su exalted!—Is any comment necessary? Nay, has not the entire period from the conclusion of KE-YING's Treaties abounded with indications of insincerity at the Imperial Court \* and of a determination to pursue a re-actionary policy toward Foreigners?

Observe, indeed, how guarded that Minister was, in deference to the hostility at Canton, and the sympathy with it at Peking, not to allude to the conditions of the Treaties save to pointedly inculcate an idea of a consequent gainful traffic.

When it is considered that mob after mob assailed the Foreigners, and that their only security was their presumed ability to defend themselves; that the public Placards of the people frequently threatened life, and prevented the rebuilding of the British Factories, which the mob had the second time destroyed; that again, at a later period, the

\* We need, indeed, to reflect but a moment to be reminded that an echo of the noise of the mobs at Canton in 1844 came from Peking in a comment upon the provision in the American Treaty for Cemeteries, offensively comparing Foreigners with Foxes, and clearly disclosing a bond of sympathy at that early period between the Court and the hostile Cantonese.

violence of the populace compelled Sir John Davis to move upon Canton "to teach a lesson to its people;" and yet that this energetic proceeding did not prevent the still more direful tragedy of Wang-chuh-ki in the succeeding December:—When, on the one hand, we find such a course of conduct—on the part of the Imperial Government a constant effort to evade its Treaty engagements, and a disposition to countenance if not to foster the hostile spirit of the Cantonese,—and on the other hand, observe the disposition to forbear, conciliate, and assist:—we can but deplore the obstinate obtuseness of the Rulers of China, while we admire the spirit of forbearance evinced by England;—a spirit that, so far as it has been one of unconstrained choice, she has cherished 'not wisely but too well.'

Again and again it had seemed as if the British Government had adopted the Laureate's thought:—

"More soluble is this knot,  
Like almost all the rest, if men were wise,  
By gentleness, than War:"—

But that this policy had been exhausted long since in the vain search for the Poet's requisite of wise men among the Rulers of China!—

In truth, War was always impending and repeatedly imminent:—Witness, for example merely, the words of Sir John Davis in his Notification of April 4th 1847 at Canton:—

"Diplomatic Department

#### " GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION.

"His Excellency Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, &c., has the satisfaction to publish for the information of British subjects in China, the annexed letter from the Honorable the Major-General commanding Her Majesty's forces, just received on the arrival of the expedition at Canton. The rapid and successful course of operations, begun and concluded within a period of 36 hours, by the small military and naval force under the direction of Major-general D'Aguilar and Capt. Mac Donald, the senior naval officer, is calculated to teach a lesson to the people of Canton which they will not soon forget, and it is His Excellency's intention not to quit this place until he has placed matters on a footing consistent with Treaty engagements, and worthy of the British nation. He feels that the moderation and justice of all his former dealings with the government of China lends a perfect sanction to measures which he has been reluctantly compelled to adopt after a long course of misinterpreted forbearance."

—and that in the succeeding December a more serious need of retaliatory hostilities arose, the gravity of which may be briefly shewn by the following extract of a public comment of the time:—

"I sincerely trust that Sir John Davis will not make another little war. His only endeavour should be to induce the Chinese authorities to allow him to co-operate with them in destroying the villages. If they will not consent to this, to strike the flag (after a month's notice), Blockade the port, and wait orders from home."

At this period the situation of affairs in Europe deterred any extended exercise of force by England; and the policy of conciliation, then become still more dangerous, was continued.

What this was leading to, the temper evinced by Sir John was an earnest; but Revolution intervened, and so complicated the relations as to obscure the issue, distract the attention of the Mandarins and the

Chinese generally, and postpone the crisis.

The time was ripe for War in China before it was in Europe, but that Revolution came, here, to hold the two Governments, really in contact, in check:—one as a spectator, the other as an actor: and that the latter did not abdicate its assumptions or modify its impracticableness, many incidents and indications at various points, as well as the impressions derived by the Officers of the three Treaty Powers from their visit at the port of Peking in 1854, have clearly shewn. In a report to our friends we then glanced briefly at the state of affairs under date of Canton, December 7th 1854, as in the following words:—

"The security of this city has long depended chiefly upon the protection afforded by the presence of the British and American vessels of war; and so completely powerless had the Imperial officers become, that some months ago they invoked the more active aid of foreigners. The attempts to obtain this aid have been repeated in various forms; but as it was obvious, more than a year ago, that the political movements in this country, although not always in concert, were general, and the result of organic decay to an extent indicating the elements of a Revolution, the authorities of England and the United States caused public notifications to be made to their respective citizens, requiring them to observe complete abstinence from interference in the existing disputes between the people, and "to treat both parties as entitled to all the rights due to belligerents in a public war." It is seen, however, that so far from the passive policy thus declared being one insuring impartiality towards the respective parties, it has been practically of the greatest assistance here and at other points to the Imperial Government, since so long as the forces of foreign nations maintain at the ports the rights of their citizens to remain and conduct their trade, so long do they afford great moral support to the Imperial cause.

"We are merely stating the practical effect, so far, of the persistence of the authorities of England, France and America in maintaining an attitude of "armed neutrality" in protection of the rights of their respective citizens under the Treaties at the several ports already open: and whilst it will be obvious that the Imperial Government would gain moral support from a declaration of the freedom of all the other accessible ports of the Empire at the present time, it may be doubted whether it will not require, however severe may be its reverses in the conflicts with the people, at the hands of the three principal Treaty Powers aforesaid, united and resolute demonstration of force to this end, as the only means of preventing the destruction of the foreign trade, and, so far, rescuing it from the course which it has blindly followed so long by, as it would seem, a kind of fatalism. Its confessed inability to fulfill the obligations incurred under the Treaties imposes upon the respective Treaty powers the duty of claiming for their citizens recompenses corresponding to the detriment inflicted upon their interests; and it is to be hoped that ample authority will be given the enlightened Representatives of those three countries now in China to act unitedly and effectively for these objects of their common good, which are not less for the good of China itself.

"It must be obvious to all that to be content to pursue no new objects would imply a willingness to surrender privileges hitherto enjoyed, and which have conduced not less to the good of the Chinese people than to that of foreigners; inaction, then, involves the decay, nay almost the certain destruction of the foreign trade; but action (by which we mean legitimate intervention), united and efficient, will infuse new life into China, and preserve if not extend the foreign trade. We may doubt, indeed, if the rent fabric of society can ever be reconstructed without a nucleus of recognized (foreign) power, around which its members may cluster in security. The well-being of the people of China, therefore, invokes this legitimate intervention.

"It may be hoped that the recent initiative visit of the Plenipotentiaries of England and America at the port of Peking has to some extent opened the way to the course which the necessities of the present times indicate so clearly to all enlightened minds; and that its results will tend to convince the Governments of the respective countries that the circumstances are now such as to forbid delay."

We have said that War was long impending and repeatedly imminent; and the mode of dealing with the immediate issue fully establishes the correctness of this opinion: We shall be able to shew, indeed, that so precarious had the Foreign relations become of late years that the crisis, instead of being in itself fortuitous, had been postponed by a combination or succession of circumstances, some of which may themselves, rather, be correctly called accidental and the most of them extraneous. A simple sketch, presenting the salient points of the interval since KE-YING's promulgation of the act tolerating Christianity, will suffice to establish the soundness of the positions already taken by us, —whether in respect to the general policy of the Court of Peking, its complicity with the disaffected Cantonese, or its jealous aversion of Christianity: while it will, at the same time, shew, with startling distinctness, as it appears to us, upon how slight a thread the momentous question of *Peace or War* has long been suspended:—It will be seen that Peace depended merely upon the retention of influence by KE-YING, and upon a certain indefinite dread of British power, rather than upon any purposed good faith on the part of the Government of China; and that the wholesome dread inculcated by that enlightened statesman, lasting as it did but a short time after the accession of the present EMPEROR, has since served less than the Revolution in tempering the insolence of the Mandarins and thus averting the crisis which has now been reached.

We are not driven to speculation or conjecture, neither have we need to produce much of the concurrent testimony of the period, for the indications upon which we shall chiefly rely are indisputable, being contained in official documents of the Chinese Government itself; and we shall add to them little more than the passing commentary required to elucidate their meaning, which will generally be extracted from the contemporaneous remarks of the Editor of the "Chinese Repository," from which also, the most of the public documents are taken. Undoubtedly the archives of Diplomacy would furnish us more direct proof, enveloped though it be in a web of sophistry; but we doubt if it would be more satisfactorily conclusive, for we have reason to know that the best qualified judges regard the words of such public documents as much more reliable indices of intentions than the prepared declarations to Foreign Officers:—And when, as in the cases we shall cite, acts of the greatest political gravity have succeeded to confirm the significance of the text, we have no need to gather up all the links of the chain of concurrent testimony.

We have already referred, in a foot note, to the significant echo of the roar of the mobs of Canton at Peking in 1844.

We proceed now to indicate the points bearing upon the question before us.—Thus in March 1845, we first saw it authentically stated that KE-YING had memorialized the Emperor on the subject of the Christian Religion.

Subsequently, the following Memorial to the Throne by KE-YING was published:—namely—

*Toleration of Christianity, intimated by the*  
EMPEROR TAU KWANG, December 25th 1844, in  
a reply given to a memorial from the Imperial Commissioner KE-YING.

"After so long a delay we are able to place before our readers the Emperor's edict, for the toleration of Christianity, kindly forwarded to us by a correspondent at Shanghai. The history of this document we have been able to trace so far as to leave no doubt, in our own minds, of its being authentic. Certain Officers, both at Shanghai and Canton, have denied the authenticity of what purports to be the Emperor's reply, while others, who have the means of knowing the truth, declare to the contrary. In the summer of last year we had the pleasure of presenting to KE-YING a copy of the New Testament in Manchoo. The same in Chinese with many other books on Christianity, he had previously received and perused, and had evidently made up his mind regarding the truth and excellence of this "new religion." Aware of what was doing to extend Christianity, he is said to have brought forward a proposition more than a year ago for its toleration. But the honor of securing this, by a direct request was reserved for the French Ambassador. We here introduce the original, with a translation."—*Editor Chinese Repository.*

"KE-YING, Imperial Commissioner, minister of state, and Governor-General of *Kuangtung* and *Kwangsi* respectfully addresses the Throne by memorial.

"On examination it appears that the religion of the Lord of Heaven is that professed by all the nations of the west; that its main object is to encourage the good and suppress the wicked, that since its introduction to China during the *Ming* dynasty, it has never been interdicted; that subsequently, when Chinese, practising this religion, often made it a covert for wickedness, even to the seducing of wives and daughters, and to the deceitful extraction of the pupils from the eyes of the sick, Government ordered investigation, and inflicted punishment, as is on record; and that in the reign of *Kiating*, special clauses were first laid down for the punishment of the guilty. The prohibition therefore, was directed against evil-doing, under the covert of religion, and not against the religion professed by the western foreign nations.

Now, the request of the *French Ambassador*, LAGREN'E, that those Chinese who doing well, practise this religion be exempt from criminality, seems

possible. It is right therefore to make request and earnestly to crave celestial favor, to grant, that henceforth all natives and foreigners without distinction, who learn and practise the religion of the Lord of Heaven, and do not excite to trouble by improper conduct, be exempted from criminality. If there be any who seduce wives and daughters, or deceitfully take the pupils from the eyes of the sick, walking in their former paths, or are otherwise guilty of criminal acts, let them be dealt with according to the old laws. As to those of the French and other foreign nations, who practise the religion, let them only be permitted to build Churches at the Five ports open for commercial intercourse. They must not presume to enter the country to propagate religion. Should any acting in opposition, turn their backs upon the treaties, and rashly overstep the boundaries, the local officers will at once seize and deliver them to their respective Consuls for restraint and correction. Capital punishment is not to be rashly inflicted, in order that the exercise of gentleness may be displayed. Thus, peradventure the good and the profligate will not be blended, while the equity of mild laws will be exhibited.

"This request that well doers practising the religion may be exempt from criminality, he (the Commissioner) in accordance with reason and his boondien duty, respectfully lays before the throne, earnestly praying the *August Emperor* graciously to grant that it may be carried into effect—A respectful memorial."

*Taukwang*, 24th year, 11th month, 19th day (December 28th 1844) was received the vermilion reply. "Let it be according to the Counsel (of *KEYING*.)—*This is from the Emperor.*"

In May 1845 we heard of the renewed promotion of LIN, and TANG after their degradation; and note it here because they were known to belong to the Tories or defenders of the old exclusive policy, and hence opposed to *Keying*.

In November proclamations embodying the principal stipulations of the treaties with England, France, and the United States of America, appeared; but were, with scarcely an exception, defaced or torn down by the populace.

In December 1845 the following further promulgation of the act of toleration was made by *Keying*.

"*KEYING* of the Imperial house, Governor General of *Kwangtung* and *Kwangsi* a director of the Board of War, a vice high chancellor, vice guardian of the heir apparent, minister and commissioner extraordinary of the Ta-Tsing Empire, makes this communication.

"A despatch has been received from the French Commissioner, Lagren'e, in which the following appears.—'Formerly, in requesting that a memorial might be laid before the Throne for removing the prohibitions against the religion of the Lord of Heaven it was my original design that all persons, professing this religion and acting well should a-

like share the Imperial favor, and that the great Western Nations should all as one be held blameless in the practice thereof. The religious customs referred to on a previous occasion were those of our nation; yet if persons of their nations did not entirely conform to these, still there was to be no distinction, no obstruction,—thus showing great magnanimity."

"Now I find that, in the first place, when regulations for free trade are agreed upon, there was an article allowing the erection of Churches at the five ports. This same privilege was to extend to all nations; there were to be no distinctions.

"Subsequently, the Commissioner Lagren'e requested that the Chinese who acting well practised this religion, should equally be held blameless. Accordingly I made a representation of the case to the Throne, by memorial, and received Imperial consent thereto.

"After this, however, local Magistrates having made improper services, taking and destroying crosses, pictures and images, further deliberations were held, and it was agreed that these (crosses &c.) may be revered. Originally I did not know that there were, among the nations, these differences in their religious practices.

"Now with regard to the religion of the Lord of Heaven no matter whether the crosses, pictures and images be revered or be not revered, all who, acting well, practice it, ought to be held blameless.

"All the great Western Nations being placed on an equal footing only, let them acting well practice their religion, and China will in no way prohibit or impede their so doing. Whether their customs be alike or unlike, certainly it is right that there should be no distinction and no obstructions.

"As it behooves me, I make this communication. On its reaching the said Consul, he will easily comprehend it.

"The foregoing communication is addressed to the Consul of the United States of America—(Canton.) 22nd December, 1845."

In the same month, we find the best informed upon Chinese political affairs declaring that—"in the cabinet and councils at Peking, his Imperial Majesty, has not a single man who is willing to 'cast-in his lot with *Keying*.'"

In March 1846, the following fuller promulgation of the act of toleration took place.

"The following proclamation from *Keying* and *Huang*, making public the pleasure of their Imperial master, is evidently designed to give full effect to the decree of December 28th, 1844, published in our number for April 1845. See our last volume p. 125 also pp. 539 and 588. The Government of China, so far as as we are able to ascertain, is disposed to give not only the *T'ien*, *Chu kien*, but Christianity, full toleration, to place the worshippers of the Lord Jesus Christ on the same footing where they stood under the reign of



the Illustrious KANGHI; and the honor of bringing about this change in his Majesty's councils, is due to the French Commissioner *M. Lagrené* and to their Excellencies *Keying* and *Hwang*: KANGHI came to the throne in 1662, dismissed the regents, and assumed the reins of Government in 1669 and died in 1723. During most of his reign Christianity was tolerated and its propagators stood high at Court. The year after his death a decree was issued by *Yung-ching* forbidding the propagation of Christianity. Hundreds of Churches were destroyed, or converted to other purposes. And so, for aught that appears, they have remained till this day. What and where those houses are which 'have been preserved,' as alluded to in the decree, we do not know. We give below a translation of the decree, &c., and on the following page a copy of the original of the same."—*Editor Chinese Repository.*

"KEYING of the Imperial House, vice guardian of the heir apparent, a vice high Chancellor, a director of the Board of War, a member of the Censorate, Governor General of Kwangtung and Kwang-si, &c., and Hwang, member of the Board of War, Governor of the Kwangtung, &c., &c., having respectfully copied out, promulgate the following Imperial decree, received the 20th of February 1846, in reply to a memorial laid before the Throne for the purpose of securing immunity to those who profess the religion of the Lord of Heaven.

"On a former occasion *Keying* and others laid down before us a memorial requesting immunity from punishment for those who doing well profess the religion of Heaven's Lord: and that those who erect Churches, assemble together for worship, venerate the cross, and pictures, and images, read and explain sacred books, be not prohibited from so doing. This was granted. The religion of the Lord of Heaven, instructing and guiding man in well-doing, differs widely from the heterodox and illicit sects; and the toleration thereof has already been allowed. That which has been requested on a subsequent occasion it is right in like manner to grant.

"Let all the ancient houses throughout the provinces, which were built in the reign of FANG-HI and have been preserved to the present time, and which on personal examination by the proper authorities are clearly found to be their *bona fide* possessions, be restored to the professors of this religion in their respective places, excepting only those Churches which have been converted into temples, and dwelling houses for the people.

"If after the promulgation of this decree throughout the provinces, the local officers irregularly persecute and seize any of the professors of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, who are not bandits, upon all such the just penalties of the law shall be meted out.

"If any under a profession of this religion do

evil, or congregate people from distant towns seducing and binding them together; or if any other sect or bandits, borrowing the name of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, create disturbances, transgress the laws, or excite rebellion, they shall be punished according to their respective crimes, each being dealt with as the existing statutes of the Empire direct.

"Also in order to make apparent the proper distinctions. Foreigners of every Nation are in accordance with existing regulations, prohibited from going into the country to propagate religion.

"For these purposes this decree is given: Cause it to be made known—"From the Emperor."

"As it behoveth us, we having copied out, promulgate the decree: Let all the officers, the military and the people understand and yield the obedience that is due. Oppose not. A special proclamation."—*March 18th, 1846.*

In May 1846, the following Decree promoting *Ke-Ying* and others appeared,—

"A Vermilion edict (i.e. an edict written in vermilion by the Emperor's own hand) has been received, showing the results of the great triennial examination for merit held at court. "All the Chinese and Manchu Ministers, within and without the capital, who are able to show diligence and truthfulness, and discharge the duties of their offices with sincere hearts, ought to be distinguished. Those who possess talents for common service, but—whose strength is wasted and whose years are for advanced, it is hard to induce, but those whose faculties continue undiminished, these it is right to retain in office. Now on the return of this great examination, the Board of Office having made out a schedule of all the ministers within and without the capital, we have deliberated and acted on the same."

"MUCHANGAH and PWAN-SHINGAN, high Chancellors; SA-SHA-GAH and KI-TSUNTSAN, Presidents of the Board of Revenue; and HO-YUIN, President of the Board of War: expert and diligent in the discharge of business, of singular virtue and singular mind; NGANEWEI, a President of the Board of Office, exhibiting some what of patience and truthfulness in the management of all public affairs; NA'CHKINGAH, the Governor General of the province of *Chihli*, managing well all the affairs of the important post on the frontier; PAU-HING, high Chancellor and Governor-General of the province of *Szechuen*, of sterling character and rectitude, retaining strength beyond his years; KI-YING, vice high Chancellor and Governor General of *Kwantung* and *Kwangsi* with all his mind and thoughts controlling the maritime frontiers; and HWANG-NGANTUNG, Governor of *Kwantung*, joining strength to Councils, and aiding in maintaining quiet and stability. Let all these be delivered over to the Board of Office to deliberate on the marks of distinction that ought to be given them. As to the others let them as usual discharge the functions of their respective offices.—*This is from the Emperor.*"



Also, in May 1846, the following Proclamation of H. E. Sir John Davis appeared :—

PROCLAMATION.

"The autograph assent of the Emperor of China having been obtained to a public instrument executed between Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary and the Chinese Minister subject to the final approbation of the Queen, in which, among other stipulations, the previously-questioned right of entry to Canton city is conceded and established under the Emperor's own hand, and the exercise of that right is agreed to be postponed only until the population of Canton shall be more under the control of the local Government, this is to make known, that the island of *Chusan* will be immediately made over to the Chinese officers appointed to receive it, and Her Majesty's forces will be withdrawn from that post with all practicable speed.

*God save the Queen.*

(Signed) J. F. DAVIS.

"Given at Victoria, Hongkong,  
the 18th day of May, 1846.

"By His Excellency,

(Signed) A. R. JOHNSTON."

In November 1846, there appeared a Proclamation of the District Magistrate in the old insulting form of prohibition against Foreigners, respecting which the Editor of the *Repository* wrote as follows:—"It might be inferred, judging from the document before us, not to mention other evidence, that the old order of things is to be brought back, with all its annoyances and restrictions, and that all the provisions of the late treaties, so far as they have reference to personal liberty and security, are to be set aside. If a stranger, by any mistake, happens to enter the gates of the city he is stoned and beaten, and no redress can be had. And if one goes a rod beyond the suburbs, there the like evils are meted out!—How long, every one is ready to ask, *how long* are these evils to remain unchecked?"

In January 1847, the Editor of the *Repository* wrote as follows :—

"From Peking, by extracts from the Imperial edicts forming the Gazettes, we have dates to December 4th, 1846, being the 16th day of the 11th month of the 26th year of Taukwang,—'Reason's Glory.' The wheels of Government move on, and the car of state advances in its high career. But those wheels drag heavily; and the advance is slow and tremulous, like that of one who has reached his second childhood: Not a very long time ago, in conversation with one of the high provincial officers, regarding the condition of this Empire, he remarked that his country had reached its dotage and was weak in all its parts: He said much more of the like kind: Doubtless he spoke what was true.—The so-called celestial Empire has reached an extreme old age its second childhood. The number of dynasties,—excluding the

mythological line of Sovereigns—which have occupied the Throne of China is twenty seven, extending over a period of about four thousand seven hundred years, and showing a list of two hundred and forty six monarchs; this gives to each Emperor, as the average duration of authority a period of twenty (20) years nearly, and to each dynasty a fraction less than one hundred and seventy five (175) years. His Majesty TAU KWANG has already occupied "the dragon seat" twenty six years, and the "Great Pure Dynasty," the *Ta-Tsing-Chan*, two hundred and one years. Both for the one and the other, therefore, the ordinary or average period of holding dominion has expired. It is not on account of the lapse of years that a change is to be expected:—some of the early and some of the later dynasties far exceeded two hundred years, and two of the *Ta-Tsing Emperors* more than doubled the years of "Reason's Glory" in the duration of their reign,—KANGHI being sixty one years on the Throne and KIEN LUNG sixty; but the State is sick, the body-politic is diseased; this great mass is corrupt. The disorders are long-standing and are deep-rooted. And though we do not expect a speedy downfall, still a change,—a revolution may come at any day.

"In China a change of dynasties has usually—has always, so far as we know, been attended with the most dire calamities, bloody and horrible beyond description. Were the present Government broken up, and the flood-gates of war opened, as things now are, the scenes of desolation would be awful. Our hope is that this Government may stand, and that it may be so modified—so reformed—that it may recover from its present weakness and disorder. There is, however, so far as we can see, but one way for this desirable end to be effected and that is by friendly intercourse with foreign nations. The presence of foreign ministers at the court of Peking is very desirable. The preservation of peace cannot long be maintained without it; and the sooner Great-Britain, France and the United States, take measures to effect it, the better, both for them and for China."—*Editor Repository.*

In February 1847, the same Editor wrote as follows:—"To day a despatch has arrived from Peking announcing the degradation of H. E. *Hwang Ngantun*, Governor of this Province. To-morrow he will deliver over the seals of his office to Ke-Ying. The cause of this, as we understand it, does not argue much against the man—though it does against the policy he has been foremost in supporting. Very soon foreign Governments will find it necessary to be their own reporters at the Court of Peking. There is already, we believe, a policy working at Court and in the provinces, fixed and determined, to put things, *back* where they were previously to the War. True it is concealed as much as possible, but it is spreading like leaven of iniquity."

And in March the same Editor wrote as follows:—"As things are in Canton, with thousands of the basest sort, poor, idle and half-famished, congregated in and about the city, a very little matter may easily lead to the most fearful consequences. This was twice exemplified last year, once in the demolition of the Prefect's office, and again in the attack on the foreign factories in July: Fond as the Chinese naturally are of quiet and order, these cannot be enjoyed here without great watchfulness on the part of both the native and the foreign authorities. While we continue to urge the constant exercise of circumspection and forbearance on the part of the residents, we feel that the time has come when Governmental authority should interpose with a strong hand and secure to foreigners their rights—*safety from insult and injury, freedom and liberty in exercise, with healthy and convenient residences*—rights provided by all the late treaties.

"Twelve hundred Chinese criminals are said to have been beheaded in Canton during the last year, and many thousands are now in prison. Since the opening of the seals of the provincial officers, on the 5th, the work of decapitation has been renewed. Causes are in operation among the Chinese that must year after year continue to swell the tide of evil and hasten on some—it is hard to say what—*dreadful calamity*."

In April 1847, the movement of Sir John Davis, already noticed, took place, even H. E.'s patience being at length exhausted!

In reference to the state of affairs and of feeling, we here quote the following significant Proclamation of Yeh, then occupying a subordinate office at Canton:—

#### PROCLAMATION.

*Yeh territorial commissioner &c., and Huang chief superintendent of the commissariat, &c., with Yen judicial commissioner, of Canton, jointly issue these instructions for the purpose of quieting the hearts of the people.*

To-day, it having been reported that steamers had entered the river and come up to the city, we immediately made careful inquiry and took the proper action thereon. As all nations have been in the enjoyment of free commercial intercourse, all enjoy quiet repose, and we conceive that there can be no cause for solicitude.

Moreover there are near the city tens of thousands of people connected with the colleges, who are banded together, and have in times of peace been trained and disciplined.

They have strength and are acquainted with the military art, and are prepared alike for peace or war. Never have they given rise to troubles. These we have known ever since we first came to Canton. You, soldiers and people ought to abide in your own place, and as you have always done, mutually protect and defend each other. If lawless vagabonds take advantage of the occasion and create trouble, and you are not able to remain in quiet with your possessions, we will seize the disturbers and instantly punish them without mercy or lenity. Let each tremblingly obey. These are our pressing commands—April 3d, 1847.

*To be posted up at the Thirteen Factories.*

This document may be dissected by the light of to-day; and the import of the appeal to the "tens of thousands of people connected with the Colleges, banded together, trained and disciplined,

"having strength and acquainted with the military art and being "prepared alike for peace or war," will now be more clearly perceived.

Two days after, the following Placard denouncing KE-YING was published.

#### "Denunciation of Ke-Ying.

"The English have rebelled against us, disobeying our laws, and bringing disorder and injury on the "Flowery Nation." KE-YING's heart is inwardly inclined towards them, he disregards our families, and, trampling on the people, he thereby degrades the nation. His crimes deserve to be punished with death; it is therefore desirable that every one of us should exert himself, that all uniting together, we may set fire to his palace and then cast his dead body into the street. To do this is not exceeding the law.

"Taukwang, 27th year, 2nd moon, 20th day (April 5th, 1847.)

#### "An appeal from the whole province."

At this time the Editor of the *Repository* reported as follows:—

"KE-YING is known to have been greatly perplexed and distressed, unable to eat by day or sleep by night. It is generally believed, by those who have the best means of knowing the truth in this matter, that he has been left to stand quite alone, and is even opposed by some of the high officers of the Province."

Perhaps if we take the tenor of the foregoing Proclamation of Yeh and his conduct and career since into view, we shall not find any doubt in our minds as to one, at least, of the high Officers who opposed KE-YING, as above reported.

We still proceed to quote from the pages of the observant Editor of the "*Repository*," whose conversance with the Diplomacy of the previous three years, added to his knowledge of the language of the country, peculiarly qualified him for sound judgment, as his exalted sense of right did for unbiassed comment; and thus it is that we find him from time to time foretelling, in words weighty with the solemnity of truth and partaking of a prophetic spirit, the dangerous complications toward which the Government and people of China were hurrying in their relations with Foreigners.

His words of November 1846 and February 1847 prepared our minds for the record of April 1847, now before us; and the following further recitals and comments serve also as significant foreshadowings of the darker deeds of the succeeding December,—when the "*leaven of iniquity*" fermented with a violence that, at length, aroused a more correct general sentiment amongst the Chinese as well as Foreigners, which inspiring in the former dread and in the latter caution, led to a period of comparative calm, during which both preserved an expectant attitude that continued without very serious interruptions until the Revolution became, as between Foreigners and Chinese, more or less an element of order in its counteracting effect upon

the Mandarins and people. In the meantime, however, the Policy of the Government and its more active adherents was not less sure and unremittingly repressive, though more subtle, as we shall see by the record to be quoted from hereafter. At present we quote the anticipatory remarks of the Editor above referred to.

"With reference to the present state of things and the occurrences of the past month we have now but few remarks to offer. Affairs continue comparatively quiet, but numerous causes of irritation exist, which there is too much reason to apprehend will terminate at length in an open rupture. Many among the lower classes of the Chinese seem to have no hesitation in perpetrating any outrage which may tend to awaken national animosity, provided it only contributes to satisfy their own evil disposition for gain, insult or revenge."

And in the succeeding December he thus briefly gives utterance to the feelings of horror which the bloody tragedy at *Huáng-chuh-ki* called forth. —

"The subject of all-engrossing interest which we are called to relate among the occurrences of the month, is the lawless outrage and murder of the six foreigners at *Huáng-chuh-ki*. Never in all the annals of history have we read of a more cruel and blood-thirsty instance of atrocity than this. The minds of the foreign community have been justly filled with feelings of surprise, horror and alarm. No one supposed that the Chinese could be guilty of such savage barbarity, and it was only the foul deed itself and the mangled bodies of the victims brought back successively from the scene of massacre that has made us fully sensible of the awful wickedness and depravity that here exist."

These atrocities never were properly or adequately atoned for; and the history of this case presents a fair view of the disadvantages under which the foreign residents have labored in China since the Treaty of Nanking. The following report of a Committee of the British Community very plainly exhibits the influence of that *spirit of trade* which has so much retarded a proper assertion of first principles,—the reciprocal recognition of the first obligations of amity—*full protection of life and property and perfect political equality*—

"*Let us first be friends and then we will trade*:"—is the proper meaning of the Treaties and the real intent of the Western Nations in forming them; but this is completely reversed by China since the recall of KE-YING from Canton: Nor is this policy of the Mandarins without legitimate derivation from the course practically pursued by England and America.

With these introductory remarks we now annex the Report referred to.—

*Extract of Report of a Committee of the British Community at Canton. December, 1847.*

Upon the subject of redress of the murders by the Chinese at *Huáng-chuh-ki*: "His Excellency did not specify any particular point; but expressed

himself anxious to have their views, either written or verbally "on the present crisis;" and that they should consider how far the interests of the commercial community would be affected by the measures that might be adopted on the part of the nation. He assured them that no one more deeply deplored than he did, the calamitous event which had occurred; that he was perhaps too ready to adopt aggressive measures; and that he had made demands which KE-YING might not be able to accede to. What these demands were he did not explain, but said that neither the execution of six of the murderers, nor the whole of them, nor razing of the village, would be considered sufficient. The commercial community, however,—could best inform him how far they were prepared to forego present advantage for ultimate good: The chairman said, His Excellency farther added that he would be happy to have their opinions in any shape they chose, either individually or collectively in writing or at a personal interview.

Mr Campbell explained the views entertained by himself and others, and read a paper embodying them, which seemed to point at the propriety of a blockade. An opposite view was expressed by Mr Jardine, who reminded the meeting that whatever their own feelings on the spot might be, many of them were the factors for constituents elsewhere, who might entertain very different views."

"It appearing to many imperative that something should be done, we understand that a document to be submitted to His Excellency has since been prepared for the signature of those who concur in it.

It is not yet known what measures the Plenipotentiary will adopt; but unless KE-YING accedes to his demand, a serious impediment to the immediate enforcement of them exists in the smallness of the British force now in China; and in that case it may be necessary to await the instructions of Her Majesty's Government."

Pausing here to consider to what a point in retrogression we had reached at this date of the record, when, as if by a lapse into utter barbarism by these people, with whom we had for years been living under the professed safeguard of Treaties, six British residents were deliberately tortured to death!—and lamenting this violent outburst of a cherished animosity as in itself as horrible as it was, for the cause of civilization, inopportune, let us hope that it will not be forgotten now, but that the scene of it may be made to bear some mark of atonement corresponding to its enormity and that the Triumphal Arches raised in the days of Su and YEN to commemorate deeds of cowardice and atrocity like this will be destroyed and in the place of some of them Cenotaphs reared, with inscriptions to the memory of these inoffensive men and declaration of the purpose of England to exact a full penalty hereafter for every life thus taken.

At this period the famine in Ireland and the revolutionary state of the continent of Europe with other causes combined to place England in a posi-

tion of so much constraint, politically and financially as precluded an extensive exercise of force in China, so that questions with its Government, whatever their gravity, were of necessity left in abeyance for a more convenient opportunity of adjustment:—But for these extraordinary restraining causes, there can be no doubt, the British Government would have then sent out a force to obtain redress, since from their full approval of Sir John Davis' movement upon Canton in the previous month of April Her Majesty's Ministers could not, logically, omit to do so,—as will be seen by the following extract of Lord Palmerston's despatch.

"Viscount Palmerston to Sir John Davis.

"Foreign Office, July 5th, 1847.

"Sir,—Your despatches of the 5th and 6th of April which I received on the 29th of last month, have enabled Her Majesty's Government to judge of the motives which induced you to undertake the late operation in the Canton River; and I have great satisfaction in acquainting you that under the circumstances of the case, the course you adopted was fully justified by the procrastinating and evasive conduct of the Chinese authorities, and was the one best calculated to prevent more serious difficulties at a future period. Her Majesty's Government therefore entirely approve what you did as well in undertaking the expedition as in the negotiations which preceded the withdrawal of Her Majesty's forces from Canton.

"Her Majesty's Government have indeed no wish unnecessarily to have recourse to force in order to compel the Chinese authorities to listen to just demands; and they consider that the utmost patience and forbearance should be shown in dealing with them. But Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that the lesson which those authorities have now learnt that forbearance has its limits, and that Her Majesty's servants in China relying upon the support of their Government, are prepared if necessary, promptly to assert the rights which British subjects in China are by treaty intitled to enjoy, will have a salutary effect on the future conduct of the Chinese Officers."

In the succeeding month of February (1848) the following notice of the recall of KE-YING appeared in the Repository, when its significance was not fully apprehended.

"KE-YING, it is announced, has been ordered to leave for Peking. His place is to be supplied temporarily by his excellency SU KWANGTSIN the present Governor of Kwangtung. His excellency YEW, commissioner of Finance is to fill the office of acting Governor of the province."

As this, to our mind, marks the distinct point of divergence by the Imperial Court from the obligations of good faith in the observance of the Treaties we stop to consider the futility of all reciprocal stipulations with such a Government without material guaranties.

So long as England held Chusan there was something like an endeavor shown by the Mandarins to observe the Treaty,—such, at least, was the apparent course of KE-YING and his colleague in the Provincial Government, Hwang, whose degradation we have already noticed; but whether it was that the former had, in recovering possession of that Island for his Imperial Master, thus robbed himself of his own lever of influence in inculcating a faithful observance of the Treaties, or not, certain it is his recall soon followed by order of the same Emperor, and that his successor, the present one

declared when degrading him afterward, that the former had intended to do so.

Thus we see in succession and at an interval of eight years the most trusted Ministers of "*Reason's Glory*"—KE-SHEN and KE-YING disgraced for "concessions" to Foreign Nations:—Those Nations having simply sought, but without obtaining, the recognition of reciprocal rights and the fulfilment of reciprocal duties!

Three of the Western Nations had participated in the negotiations with KE-YING and their influence upon the Emperor's Councils through this Minister, had been beneficent. We know, also, that the best-intended counsels had been conveyed through other channels, and at a time and in a manner to disabuse any, but an oriental mind, of suspicion.

Thus H. E. Mr Cushing the Plenipotentiary of America endeavored to inculcate a more just idea of the nature of international relations than the previous concessions to the exacting spirit of trade rendered admissible or comprehensible by the Imperial Officers; and we shall find the tenor of the quoted despatch of CHING the key to the Imperial policy and the guide to the remedy for our previous aberrations in diplomatic intercourse.—*It is Trade, he says, that is at once the incentive and the goal of intercourse!—What need of, nay what right have you to more than its bare privileges?—and, "those during good behavior only,"—he might have added, for there is no mistaking that in his mind there was the cherished recollection of the "good old Company's days" when a stoppage of trade was the sure remedy for the Foreigners' want of abject submission; when the Hong Merchants and Linguists were the only recognized medium of communication; and, moreover, when Mandarin's pockets could easily be filled by a squeeze of these prolific dispensers of the harvest of foreign trade.*

It is not strange that the Mandarins should be reluctant to give up their old *perquisites*;—did not the East India Company strive to retain its privileges and emoluments in China?

We refer to CHING's despatch and Mr Cushing's replies as following:—

Extract, March 19th, 1845.

"The honorable Plenipotentiary ought certainly to look at and consider that the Great Emperor, in his leniency, to men from afar, has issued his edicts commanding the merchants and people peaceably to trade, which cannot but be beneficial to the nations. It is useless, with lofty, polished, and empty words, to alter these unlimited advantages"—*From a despatch of CHING Acting Governor-General of Kwang-lung and Kwang-si.*

Extract, April 22nd, 1845.

"But Your Excellency says the Provincial Government has no authority to exchange salutes with Commodore Parker, or to receive a visit of ceremony from him. And I deeply regret, for the sake of China, that such is the fact. China will find it very difficult to remain in peace with any of the Great States of the West, so long as her provincial Governors are prohibited, either to give, or to receive manifestations of that peace, in the exchange of the ordinary courtesies of national intercourse."

(Signed) C. CUSHING.

Extract, April 30th, 1845.

"I can only assure Your Excellency, that this is not the way for China to cultivate good will and maintain peace. The late war with England was caused by the conduct of the authorities at Canton in disregarding the rights of public officers who represented the English Government.

"If in the face of the experience of the last five years, the Chinese Government now reverts to antiquated customs, which have already brought such disasters upon her, it can be regarded in no other light than as evidence that she invites and desires (war with) the other western powers."

(Signed) C. CUSHING.

But are we willing now, to return to—to retrograde—to the same *regime*?—If not, let us have no more smothering of great principles under tons of Trade Regulations; but let proper prominence be accorded to and a clear definition be primarily given of the first word of import in all Treaties—the word "*amity*."

And when the first obligations of international comity have been recognized and their future observances amply guaranteed, the word *trade* will arise in its proper place. In an earlier age of the World the Merchant, as the pioneer in civilization, made his voyages in armed ships; but the Governments of the West have intervened since at almost every accessible point of the Globe and, in effect, taken the arms from the hands of their Merchants: What, then, is to be the course of those Governments, in the fulfilment of their correlative duties?

Surely protection of life and property, including provisions for the preservation of health, if the duties of hospitality cannot be exacted, are the primary requisites, even if we admit that citizens of the West have in China no other recognized "mission" but that of *trade*, for the Merchant cannot pursue his calling as the "man of peace" *par excellence* of this century, without safety and health are provided for.

That such has *not* been the course *practically* pursued by England and America the record shews; and hence it is that for years we of the West have, politically, lost ground and the moral advantages promised by the Treaties have been vitiated. We have thus lost ground while the Foreign Merchant, in conjunction with the people of China, has opened up new channels of trade and intercourse, thus plainly exposing the aberrations and shortcomings of the diplomacy of the West, which, undertaking to provide for the developments of trade, that were better left to the Merchants themselves as we see, yet failed to secure the common rights of safe domicile or the most restricted observance of the rules of hospitality for their respective citizens!

As example is so much better than precept in the ordinary affairs of life, so in political training we find the logical deductions from practice of more influence upon the Chinese Government than all the earnest inculcations of Diplomats. Thus in making a stride, as we fancied it, forward, our footing was so far erroneously based that we now find ourselves slipping backward; and we are fain to retrace our steps to recover the firm foothold

based upon the primary and inherent rights of *equality*, as the only proper basis of intercourse and the only sure means of influence.

Compelled now by the inexorable working of natural laws, the unanswerable logic of events thus derived—to reverse our position, we perceive that *Trade* no longer fills the vision, obscuring, as it did, even the shoals portending its own wreck; but that instead of being the end and aim, it may be used as a mean of a higher aim—a more noble end. Here we have reached the point where the three Treaty Powers find themselves in presence and capable of acting in concert. High walls of prejudice are before them; but they are gifted with an intelligence that pierces beyond them.

China entrenched behind these walls disdains to show her face;—nor will she see clearly until compelled to rub from her eyes the dust of them, which by the contact of cannon balls shall become like so many eye-stones and extract every particle of this blinding prejudice. — — — —

The work that the Christian Nations have to do is spread out before them like a page of pure white paper ready for the impress of the writer; and how shall this page, that shall become a *chapter* of History and "a record for all time," be filled—is the question for the Christian west to give a practical answer to.

The Chinese *people* may be said to be in an expectant, if not in a receptive attitude.

This, then, is the golden opportunity. Let no one be indifferent, let no one be a stoic or a laggard now.

*Are we ashamed of our FAITH that we shall continue to hide its BIBLE behind bales of Merchandize?*

*Shall we so disgrace it and stultify ourselves?—Shall we thus prolong this night of centuries?*

— — — — —  
*Forbid it, the hopes of Christendom!*

*Forbid it, the welfare of the 300 millions of China!*  
— — — — —

We have reached the point of common ground, we say, where the three great Naval Powers can act in concert. — Let nothing, then, mar their concord; but with recognized equal-rights let them form and march in solid phalanx intent upon the goal, nor falter until it is attained.

It is the old CRUSADE revived. — FRANCE was the leader of that; and it is traditional for her to send her Sons into distant lands to rear the Cross and fight for *principles*.

Shall it be said that ENGLAND and AMERICA can only battle for *Trade*!

Is it the highest use of Sheffield and Birmingham blades to cut the way to their own markets, and of Colt's "Revolvers" to compel purchasers in self-defence? Shall not the sword, rather, bear a Cross upon its hilt—at once the guard for the hand that wields it and an emblem whose significance a noble gesture may declare to the Pagan—and the Pistol repeat in its voice the echoes of Christian aspirations?

Having reached the distinctly marked point of divergence by the Imperial Court from the obligations of good faith, which was also the acme of popular violence against Foreigners, we paused to consider the instruction then to be gathered from the retrospect; and we indicated as the most emphatic lesson of its teaching the undue prominence assigned to Trade in the Diplomacy of England and America: This weak point in the policy of the West was arrived at by us by no process of induction, but by the deeper teaching of actual experience of the vicissitudes of the period, which were perhaps thence mainly derived. We say mainly derived therefrom, because the political course of the Western Governments toward China had confounded all logic, as the financial course of that of England had all ideas of political economy in respect to the Tea Trade down to this year.

We have seen that Sir Charles Elliot was the first to breach the wall of exclusiveness behind which China had hidden her weakness for centuries; and that in so doing he had established the legitimate character of England's quarrel in the eyes of the World:—Which, considering the position whence he started and his means, must be regarded as the greatest achievement of all.

Sir Henry Pottinger succeeded to a much clearer field; and showed as clear an appreciation of its advantages, by preserving diplomatically, so to speak, "a masterly inactivity" while the practical lessons of the sword were being given nearer and nearer to Peking:—And he was, at length, rewarded for his abstinence by the Treaty of Nanking, when in the midst of the second campaign at the North.

Sir John Francis Davis returned here with strong prepossessions in favor of China, but with a just view of the necessities of the relations with her Government and people, if we may judge from what we find upon the record; and we note here especially that H. E.'s action in 1847 was restrained by two influences. One, a want of force; the other the want of unanimity among the leading Merchants. And thus his administration of affairs, like that of Sir Henry Pottinger, left Canton without its sufficing chastisement for accumulated wrongs, and the Mandarins without a wholesome check to their industrious inculcations of political rancor.

Succeeding this was the *laissez faire* policy of Sir George Bonham, which may be said to have met with a negative success as compared with the preceding administration, since no very serious overt acts of hostility cast a gloom over its course like that left upon the receding footsteps of his predecessor by the wicked tragedy of Hwang-chuh-ki; but we shall find by the record that this general abstinence of the mob from open violence was mainly if not solely owing to the improved training of the Gentry under the subtle guidance of Sir and YEH, until the Revolution intervened and became, as we have said, an element of order,

and finally stripped the former officer of the *prestige* that he had gained in "curbing the Foreigners."

Hate of the Foreigner did not slumber; nor though it sometimes cowered from very guiltiness, did it wholly hide its head:—Nay, it did but the more surely reveal its chief abiding place,—in the high seats of the land;—its home was traced to the Government halls and the houses of the Gentry. —It was thence that the "leaven of iniquity" had spread abroad among the masses, like poison cunningly distilled coursing through the veins and inflaming the brain.

Let us here search the record by way of illustration merely, and for distant readers only, since those who reside in China do not require these few out of the many indices of the Government policy.

Thus we find public record of the animus of YEH so early as October 31st 1846 in the following:—

*Extract of a letter of Sir John Davis to Commissioner Keying.*

Dated VICTORIA, HONGKONG, Oct. 31st 1846.

"If your excellency restrains the Chinese I shall be able to restrain the English, but if the populace are encouraged by the Treasurer\* and the Judge of Canton (as in the last year) to hate and oppose foreigners, then our people will constantly fight together, many persons will be killed, and your excellency and I can only write notes to each other. It appears to me that officers like the Treasurer and the Judge should be reported to the Emperor, as the encouragers of bloody feuds and mutual troubles.

I have hitherto abstained from moving many ships of war into the river; but if it should be very plain that the Chinese government cannot restrain the people, then it will be necessary to protect the English, and I cannot be blamed if I am obliged to act in this manner against my inclination."

That the policy of the court was fixed as against all Foreigners alike and not a mere distrust of or aversion to Englishmen is shown already in 1848, by the following remarks of the Editor of the Repository, himself an American.

*Interview between H. E. Mr. Davis the American Commissioner and their Excellencies Su and Yeh and others. October 1848.*

"The contrast between the hauteur and ignorance of these two high officers, and the inquisitiveness, and affability of their predecessors KEYING and HWANG is very great; we hope however they will do nothing to complicate public affairs though their conduct thus far conveys the impression that they would not be unwilling to restore the old times, and bring back the day when they could send linguists every eight days to take the "barbarians" out for an airing."

In March 1848 the following significant Prophecy upon the Governor—Su's—conduct appeared:—

"The barbarians crazily think to enter the Emperor's city, but this Governor is not the sort of man the old one KZ-YING was. He acts for the government, destitute of selfishness a faithful and devoted servant of the Crown and hitherto has had the reputation of loving the people as his children. He has before-hand laid his plans utterly to annihilate the foreigners; he early determined to exert himself for his Prince, and to report victory to his Imperial Majesty. When once he sets in motion the bold and enterprising soldiers from the four points of the compass, he will take the English rebels and level them utterly at one sweep."

The next paper is more important and not less

\* YEH was then the Treasurer.

by which we have reached this desiderated definite point in our relations; and in doing this we must not fail to observe the repeated checks or counteractions encountered in our progress toward it, as circumstances tending to confuse the judgment and obscure the path to the real issue.

Those who thus faithfully examine the record, will not fail to satisfy themselves of the justice, nay the leniency of the course pursued by England. We may, then,—all the Western Nations may accept the issue as of a nature and breadth including, and in principle, really involving themselves.

Canton is the appointed battle field,—so indicated by its own people as well as by the Emperor. Let it, then, be accepted, nay, let it be welcomed, as such,—for there we have been subjected to the indignities of years,—there the very soil is reeking with bitterness. \*

And

*"Now for our consciences the arms are fair,  
When the intent for bearing them is just."*

*Note*—The following important papers have been referred to in the text and will be found to throw a deal of light upon the whole question between the Western Nations and China.

The following<sup>2</sup> Placard by the Gentry and Literati of Canton is an epitome of the policy pursued toward all Foreigners alike by the Imperial Government and the people of Canton conjointly.

It shews the direct participation of the people in the deliberate bad faith of the Imperial Court at that period, and that the success of the joint demonstration then made was attributed by them to its formidable character and constituted, as it no doubt did, a great moral victory over the Foreigners. *It is a victory still on record*; and the pride and hate conjoined in the following words should be a warning and an injunction now,—a warning to beware of the cowardly, stealthy, acts of such foes, and an injunction to exact full penalties for all such deeds:—*"only we of Canton—at San-yuen-li have ever destroyed them, and at Huang-chuh-ki cut them to pieces: Even tender children are desirous to devour their flesh and sleep upon their skins!"*

*"The rewards conferred by his Majesty upon the local officers have been received at Canton and the following rescript circulated in handbills through the city. "On the 7th instant, (April 1849) the Privy Council received the Imperial rescript as follows:—"Since the commencement of the foreign affair about ten years ago, there has been constant trouble along our maritime borders, with diminution of revenue, and annoyance to the troops; and though latterly there has been a little more quiet, the mingling of severity and gentleness in the mode of ruling them has not kept the foreigners contented and they have every now and then broke forth with their petty discontents. We have deeply*

felt for the affliction and oppressions of our subjects along the coasts and have patiently forbore towards them, knowing from the character of human nature that a trifling exaction now would produce a great reaction. Recently the Governor Su and his colleague have several times memorialised us relating to the repeated request of the English to enter the City of Canton, and stating that he would manage the matter with a due regard to justice and expediency: now a flying despatch has reached us stating that the merchants of the place, fully understanding the demands of patriotism have subscribed funds to protect the city from injury, and that the gentry have lent their best assistance in the emergency, and that the question of entering the city is now laid at rest. The said foreigners now carry on their business as usual, and both natives and foreigners are at peace, without our losing a soldier, or brandishing a spear. The said Governor and Fu-yuen have quieted the people and soothed the foreigners, everywhere maintaining and establishing the dignity of their rule causing these foreigners to become obedient without exerting the least severity or constraint so that there will now henceforth be mutual harmony.

"The congratulations and joy of our heart can hardly be expressed, and as is right we confer proportionate rewards to recompense such extraordinary merit. In order to show our great regard, let Su KWANGTSIN receive the title of *Viscount* transmissible to his heirs, and a two eyed peacock's feather be given him; and the reward of the title of *Baron* be conferred upon YEH-MINGCHIN transmissible to his heirs, and the decoration of a peacock's feather. Let these two officers also examine into the cases of their coadjutors, *Mutiyan*, the Commandant, *Urantai*, and *Tayantungak*, the Lieut. Generals of the troops *Hung ming-hiang* and *Siang-Lin* generals who with united zeal and energy well fulfilled their official duties, that their merits be properly rewarded according to military regulations, and let the Board of War deliberate upon, and report it for our approval. As a special mark of favor let *Hu-Siangkuang* be appointed to the first vacancy of Intendant that occurs, whether it be one of great responsibility or not. Let *Wu-Tsung yau* (*Houqua*) be appointed to the first vacancy of *Lang-chung* or Gentleman usher, and let his name be handed in to the Board of Civil Office as a candidate for the first vacant Intendancy, to be chosen either in an odd or even month; and let both these persons receive a button and girdle of the third rank. Let Su and his colleague also select those among the civil or military Officers in Canton who have exerted themselves most, and report thereon according to their merits, when they will wait until We confer favors upon them.

As to our people of Canton, whom every one knows to be so brave and who have lately showed so much intelligence and patriotism, and such courage and knowledge in their precautionary measures, mainly because of the more than martial

\* *lit. sown with salt*:—the site of the former beautified foreign Gardens having been thus served.

2. It follows the Rescript below.



guidance and influence of their rulers joined to their own heaven-directed spirit; not a fear is felt that, among their myriads, any will be found whom gain can corrupt, or power can alienate. Can we ever call to mind such meritorious devotion, and co-operation without our heart being sensibly pained with the obligation? Let Su and Yen proclaim our words till every house and family shall fully know them, and this will still further encourage a spirit of zeal and loyalty for the public weal, and cause all to enjoy the blessings of prosperity and peace; let them also make a graduated report of the efforts put forth, so that we may know how to give our thanks, and in what place to confer a meritorious tablet; that they derive great glory there from, and not the least favor be withheld from the deserving, thus will the desires of our heart be quieted. Let all these things be attended to as here directed by the proper Board, viz of Civil Office). By His MAJESTY'S COMMAND."

"The Governor has also received from his Majesty, one archer's ring with the word *hi* (joy) marked on it four times; a white gem snuff-bottle, a large and small pair of purses. The people have been consulting, about the propriety of erecting a tablet to him and the Fu-yuen, placing it up in one of the public offices; the inscription has been drawn up and hawked about town."

*Notice from the Repository of January, 1849 of an Honorary Tablet erected to their Excellencies Su and Yen by the gentry and literati.* "From of old there were no well contrived plans for ruling the foreigners, for if they were strictly governed then strife arose, while contempt was the consequence of treating them kindly. Their dispositions are perfectly avaricious and presumptuous; as ravenous after gain as the leviathan rushing on its prey; if they be disappointed in their profits, they become ten times, yea, a hundred times more outrageous, and cannot be appeased. It was said by Tang Kingchuen of the Ming dynasty "China and foreigners are like a great family neighbour to a gang of robbers, whose proximity is more dangerous than their violence; for then there is no period when they must not be guarded against, while they are all the more able to observe every opening to their advantage."—

"The country having long enjoyed peace, our civilians have become negligent of the public welfare in their eagerness after their own advancement, and our military officers have kept quiet in order to secure their own safety. At the first rumor of robbers they start with fear, and seeing the storm from afar, scatter in amazement; ere they have come to the brunt, the spirit of the battalions is already effete, if not even extinct. There is perhaps some explanation for the unbounded violence and exactions of the foreigners; for in former times they had only Macao, one little corner on the extreme south, as a trading spot; but now they sail here and there into every port just as they please, building foreign houses, bringing foreign

women, and obtaining all they ask for, their hearts desire. Moreover, they boast; saying, "We are a match for the Chinese officers: Why should we not go into the City here at Canton, and pay our respects to the authorities just the same, as is done in Fuhkion, Chekiang and Kiangnan?"

"The Imperial Envoy (Kwang) unavoidably complied with the necessities of the case, and memorialized the Court, setting the period of three years, after which this might be allowed; but he shortly after retired from office, and His Excellency Su, an officer deep in council and bold in action, was raised from the governorship to the rank of Governor General; and after about a year's possession of the post, he has fully learned that the spirit of the people of Canton can be depended on, and that the enthusiasm of the troops can easily be aroused. When the time arrived the Chiefs of the nations came in their vessels requesting an interview, when his Excellency accorded them a personal meeting, at which he firmly rejected ten or more things besought by them: Perceiving that the Commissioner was immovable, the Chiefs again put forth their request to enter the city when his Excellency said, "I will refer the matter to Court to see whether or no it can be allowed." They exclaimed, "Well, well, we will hear the mandate."

"Meanwhile, the provincial officers generally thought his Excellency would not be able to arrange the matter amicably, and that native vagabonds would take advantage of the occasion to excite disturbance, when even his utmost energy could not overrule; but he never showed the least discomposure (at this threatening prospect) and in conjunction with the Fuyuen Yen, exerted all his wisdom and energy in making preparations for a resort to arms. At the same time these two officers sedulously collected horses, and enlisted men, put in order the cannon and other military equipments, and laid in a store of provisions. They stimulated the enthusiasm of officers by exciting their emulation and love for glory; they roused the courage of the soldiers by holding out rewards, and by threatening certain punishments; they excited the patriotism of the gentry and the literati by circulating energetic remonstrances, setting forth in the plainest manner the happiness or calamity which would result from their conduct; and by stopping the trade of the merchants and shopmen, they stirred up their indignation and obtained their co-operation. By all these means, they prepared the people to protect themselves, every household making itself ready for the struggle, so that spears and arms glittered in every street, the clangor of drums made the welkin ring, and the combined action of the many myriads of brave spirits in the city paralysed the heaven-daring pride (of the foreigners), and terrified their slavish hearts.

"The Imperial rescript having arrived, his Excellency issued a proclamation that the popular indignation could not be opposed, and the question



of entering the city was accordingly dropped. For about ten years, since 1839 and 1840, when troops were drawn out and mutual hatred was stirred up, they, the Foreigners, have trodden down at will the coasts of our country, seizing and destroying our people and our women; penetrating everywhere through our inner and our outer waters; and the inhabitants have universally complied with their inclinations as if they had been bewitched. No body could or would hear of any man, or any plan of action, adequate to oppose their intentions or check their encroachments: *only we of Canton—at Sanyuen-li have ever destroyed them, and at Hwangchuhki cut them to pieces: Even tender children are desirous to devour their flesh, and sleep upon their skins!*

"Since it was necessary to follow this popular spirit, how could we ever have had such settled quiet as the present if their Excellencies, carefully noting the people's thoughts that their martial zeal was aroused and their energies stirred up, had not made them unite their power for the preservation of the city. The general voice of the people and scholars exclaims:—"It was their act, and it will not do to let it pass without making a memorial of it." "They have accordingly enjoined this upon us. We remember this expression of Mencius, "a truly lofty spirit swells to the capacity of heaven and earth: in such a man justice and wisdom are equally matched." Once *Li-kwang-peh*, being about to commence a battle the standard changed color at his presence; *Hui shang-yu* being about to issue forth, pierced his head with a chisel; *that is what we call spirit, such as when it is at its height*, soldiers submit to even before they try the risk of a battle. But now such a spirit is quite extinct in the Empire, there is no one who can rescue from little evils or from great calamities, and we can not tell when this disastrous state of things will stop.

"Such being the sagacity of their Excellencies, men in after times will say:—"The foreigners did not enter the city on "such and such a year, because Su and YEH ruled." Such merit and spirit as this will no more perish than gold or stone will decay. If Generals are carefully appointed, and soldiers well selected for the frontiers, it will be a firm safeguard and enduring rule of action for a hundred years, showing that our border Officers are men of superior talent, and not that we had any influence in advising them."

*Remarks of the Editor of the Repository, upon the state of popular feeling.*

"The matter of foreigners entering the city gates has been revived among the people of Canton during the past week or two partly by the rewards conferred by the Emperor upon Su and his colleagues, according to the Rescript given in our last number, but much more by the memorial the Governor General has drawn up in accordance with that paper recommending certain civil and military officers to court for promotion. This paper was circulated in Canton about the time it was sent to

Peking, and the style in which his Excellency spoke of the valor and loyalty of the Cantonese, inflated their conceit of themselves to the brim, and they have been letting off their superfluity of haughtiness upon the foreigners, by railing at them as they pass through the streets. The persons recommended to notice are most of them known to the populace, and this explains in a measure the greater interest taken in the promotions: The city is perfectly quiet, however, and the ill disposed lazaroni, who crowded into it in the early spring have mostly scattered into the country at the approach of harvest."

NOTE.—The same month (June 1849), the Editor of the *Repository* thus notices a case of despotic cruelty, which shews upon what a groundless pretence the Governor General capitally punished the appearance of sympathy with the people of Hongkong, this poor man having been denounced by a personal enemy; and this case may serve to caution distant readers in their too ready confidence in the specious pretences of the Mandarins when they are seeking victims for the illustration of their course of policy.

Knowing, as we do who live here, that there have been thousands of innocent persons executed in this province on the charge of rebellion, they would well comprehend the necessity to guard all persons protected by the British Flag against false denunciations, as was the Consul's duty in the case of the crew of the *Arrow*;—more especially as the temptation of a reward, and the incentive of private malice are powerful incitements to the Chinese.

"H. E. Su memorialises the Throne respecting "the execution of Li who was condemned on the "ground of traitorous correspondence; he endeavors to show that he had communicated the designs of his own rulers to foreigners. The case "is somewhat mysterious, and has greatly excited "the people from its crying injustice."

NOTE.—A fuller account of this will be given in the Appendix.

April, 1849.

*Imperial rescript contained in a letter to Mr. Bonham from Su the Imperial Commissioner.*

"At 12 o'clock on the 8th day of this month, I respectfully received from the Great Emperor the following expression of his will regarding the matter which I had represented to him by a special express, namely, that your nation was deliberating about entering the City:—

"Cities are erected to protect the people; it is by protecting the people that the Kingdom is preserved. That to which the hearts of the people incline, is that on which the decree of Heaven rests. Now the people of Kwāngtung are unanimous, and determined that they will not have foreigners enter the city: how can I post up every where my imperial order, and force an opposite course upon the people? The Chinese Government cannot go against the people in order to comply with the

wishes of men from afar. Foreign Governments also ought to examine the feelings of the people, and to allow free course to the energies of the merchants. You must rigorously repress the native banditti, and not allow them to take advantage of the opportunity to create disturbances and trouble my people. The foreign merchants come from afar over the great ocean—all to dwell in peace, and be happy in pursuing their business; you ought also to extend the same protection to them, so shall the blessing of harmony be perpetual and abundant, and all will enjoy a perfect tranquillity.—Respect this.”

“You will perceive that the language which I used at the late conference with Your Excellency did not spring from an obstinate adherence to my own views. The Imperial pleasure which I have received from afar does not differ from this determination of the public. A necessary communication.”

Comment of the Editor of the Repository. —

“This in the plainest terms, abrogated the promise given by Keying in 1847, on the ground that the people refused to allow it to be carried into effect. It made no reference to that arrangement, and said nothing respecting a new one, confessed the weakness of the central government, but hoped matters would go on peaceably, even if a promise was retracted. On the receipt of this, the following notice was issued.”

#### GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION:

HONGKONG, April 2nd, 1849.

“The Chinese Government having declined to carry into effect the stipulations entered into between Her Majesty's late Plenipotentiary, and Keying, the late Imperial high commissioner, by which it was agreed that the city of Canton should be opened to British subjects on the 6th inst., the same is hereby notified for general information, and Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary &c. &c., directs that no British subject shall for the present attempt to enter the city.”

By order

W. CAINE,  
Colonial Secretary

in the absence of Mr Johnston.

Comments of the Editor of the Repository. —

“The chief countenance given by the authorities to the acts of the people in arming, was in not hindering them, and occasionally reviewing them, for Su was too politic to permit the troops of the garrison to assist openly, nor indeed was there any need of it. During the time that the question of entering the city was at its height, and the streets were swarming in some quarters with idle fellows of the baser sort, ready for any evil work, it is worthy of remark that nothing aggressive was done by the people more than to show their hatred by a hearty malediction as a foreigner passed by, delivered with an unction that in other countries, would belike have been followed by a blow and a fracas.”

*The following Document reached us from England after all the preceding text was prepared, and will be found referred to in a portion to follow this.—*

#### DECISION OF THE CANTON QUESTION BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

(Translation.)

MUH-CHANG-AN, and other members of the Privy Council, make the following representation:—

Having received the Imperial commands to consult together, we now, in obedience thereto, forward this memorial, and request the sacred glance thereon.

The Governor-General of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, Seu, reported that the English barbarians firmly demanded admission to the city, and to rent ground, and that the public feeling was opposed to this.

On the 28th day of the 29th year of Taoukwang (22nd of February) a reply, in the vermilion pencil, was received to the following effect:—“Let the Great Ministers of the Privy Council conjointly deliberate on this affair, and forward a report. Respect this!”

We find, on examination, that our own people and the barbarians are mixed up with each other in the metropolis of Kwang-tung. This has been the case for more than two centuries. The entrance into the city and the renting of ground, were conceded to them by the late Commissioner and Governor Keying. That the barbarians should now insist upon this privilege is a matter dictated by common reason, and is not a very important question.

It may be said that these barbarians are of an insatiable nature, and that after being admitted into the city, and having rented ground, they will again give rise to disturbance and cause the commencement of hostilities. But you do not consider that the outside of the city is the same as the inside of the city; the ground of the foreign factories does not differ from that of Chang-chow (French Island). If they may give rise to disturbance inside the city, may they also not give rise to disturbance outside the city? Can they commence hostilities on Chang-chow, and can they not also commence hostilities at the foreign factories? The said barbarians are allowed at Fuh-chow, Amoy, and the other emporiums, to enter the city and to rent ground, and it has never been found that they gave rise to disturbance; should, then, Canton form the sole exception where they might engage in strife? We therefore conclude that (the repugnance there) proceeds from the ignorant populace, which relies on mere animal courage, and is deluded by false reports. One takes the lead, and a hundred join him in this (outrage.)

If such a trifling affair as this is to be magnified, it will cause the greatest misfortunes of a war on our frontiers. We do, at the same time, not take into consideration, that the people of Canton will with difficulty repel the enemy, and that our country will suffer insult and our property be lost. Allowing even that the (Cantonese) proved victorious and succeeded in their attacks, they might protect the provincial city against accidents, yet would the annoyance by the barbarians solely be confined to Canton? Would it not likewise extend to Fokien and Che-keang? How could we oppose them then? Those barbarians are, moreover, exceedingly cunning, crafty, and expert in war. The inhabitants of Canton are not sufficiently drilled and whilst ignorant of tactics they can never be a match for the English barbarians.

We have ascertained that the barbarian men of war are always at anchor in Canton river; and that they have thus already access to the very heart of our country. If they do not attack Canton, the inhabitants of Canton, will on no account dare to attack them first. If they first attack Canton, they will throw rockets and grenades into it which will be like a sudden thunder, that leaves no time even to stop the ear. And how shall we then be able to engage with them in battle? Such enterprise could only end in defeat.

Some years ago the said barbarians invaded Kwang-tung, Fokien, Che-keang, and Keang-se; the slaughter was terrific, and their tremendous power was sufficiently displayed. Owing to the sacred penetration of our Emperor, which embraces heaven and earth, we entered into a good understanding with those barbarians, that was to last 10,000 years.

Our people were thus protected, and by this means lasting quietness was ensured by a single effort.

We now look up to your Sacred Majesty to issue orders to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of that province that they must persuade and guide the people, and impress upon them the great principles of justice. Let them not act wantonly, and cause hostilities on our frontiers. (To avoid these) would be extremely fortunate for the whole empire, and the nation would on that account be happy.

Whether our views be right or wrong, it behoves us to present this respectful memorial as the joint report of the Ministers of the Privy Council, and, whilst humbly submitting the memorial, we beseech your Sacred Majesty to pursue this respectful representation

2nd month, 1st day. (February 23, 1849.)

January 1851.

*The following Rescript of the Young Emperor was the first decisive declaration of his policy in respect to foreigners:—*

The first duty of a ruler of the people without doubt is to employ the worthy and to discard the vicious; nor until the vicious shall have been utterly put away, can the administration be formed exclusively of men of worth. At the present moment the ruin caused to the Empire by slothful remissness, may be pronounced to have reached its extreme, and the blame of the government's daily retrogression, and of the daily demoralisation of the people rests with us; but is it not the vocation of two or three high officers to propose what is right, and correct what is not, and thus to assist us where we fall short?

Muhchangah, as a chief minister of the Cabinet, has been favored during more reigns than one by a recognition of his fitness for office; but he has not bethought him of its difficulties, and the diligent attention due to it, or his obligation to identify himself with the virtue and good councils of his sovereign. On the contrary, while conserving his position and coveting the credit attaching to it, he has kept back men of worth to the detriment of the state: disloyal and faithless, by concealment of his thoughts, and a complaisant bearing, he has made his treachery pass current; perverting his learning and abilities, he has suited his suggestions to views of his lord. His overthrow of those of a different policy from himself when the barbarian question was first raised is matter of the deepest indignation. In the case of Tahungah\* and Yauyung, for example, their extreme loyalty and energy being in his way, he must needs attempt their down-fall; but he did all that in him lay to establish Keying, because in him, shameless and lost to virtue, he had a coadjutor who shared his iniquity. There have been many such instances of his securing preference in order to appropriate to himself an undue share of power; more than can be numbered. His Majesty, our late parent, was himself too upright to behave otherwise than ho-

\* Will it be believed in the West that the Emperor here espouses the cause of the monster who caused the two hundred helpless shipwrecked people from the "Nerbukla" and "Ann" to be beheaded in Formosa? Nay, how many of the foreign residents in China are aware of the existence of this Imperial Edict or, if so, have remembered the monstrous cruelty of this Tahungah?

norably to men, and Muhchangah was hence enabled to pursue his unprincipled course without fear. Had the light of the Sainted Intelligence fallen upon his treason, he would have been at once punished severely; assuredly no mercy would have been shown him but (not being detected) he presumed upon the favor shown him to give himself yet greater license, and has continued to the last unreformed. At the commencement of our reign in the first moon of this year, whenever there was occasion for his counsel, he would either give it equivocally, or would close his mouth and remain silent; but after some months he began to display his cunning. Thus, even when the vessel of the English barbarians arrived at T'ien-tsin, he would have leaned upon Keying as his confidant, that his own policy might prevail, and he would have exposed the black-haired flock of the Empire to a repetition of former calamities. The hidden danger of his intentions is not to be told. When Pwan Shi-ngan recommended Lin Tseh-su for employment, he repeatedly avowed that Lin Tseh-su's weakness and infirmity unfitted him for it, and when We had ordered him to Kwangsi to exterminate the outlaws of that province, Muhchangah repeatedly questioned his ability to proceed. He has dazzled our sight with his falsity to prevent us from knowing what was passing without; and herein in truth, lies his offense.

The unpatriotic tendency of Keying, his cowardice and incapacity, are very greatly to be wondered at. When he was at Kwangtung, he did nothing but oppress the people to gratify the barbarians, never looking to the interests of the state. This was shown plainly, was it not in the discussion regarding their entry into the city. On the one hand he wronged the divine principle of justice, on the other, he outrages the feelings natural to man, till he all but occasioned hostilities when there was no anticipation of them. His late majesty, fully informed of his duplicity, commanded him to return with speed to the capital, and although he did not immediately degrade him, would certainly have done so in time. Often, during this year when summoned to our presence, Keying has spoken of the English barbarians, stating how much they were to be dreaded, and what need there would be for conciliating them, should any difficulty with them present itself; he thought nevertheless, to deceive us into ignorance of his treachery; but while striving to make sure of his office and emoluments, the longer he disclaimed the more glaring appeared his loss of all principle. His speech was as the raving of a dog; he was even less an object of pity.

The course of Muhchangah was concealed and hard to discover, that of Keying was evident, and easily discernible; but the guilt of both reflecting the injury it would bring upon the state, is on a par. Unless the law were forthwith satisfied, how should the rules of duty be so had in respect as to preserve rectitude in the hearts of men? Or how should

We be other than ungrateful for the important charge committed to us by his late Majesty? Still remembering that Muhchangah is the ancient minister of three reigns, We cannot bear at once, in a day, to subject him to the severe punishment he deserves; let him therefore, in great mercy, be deprived of his rank, and never more recommended for employment.

The incompetence of Keying has been extreme; but as he has been hard pressed by the difficulties of his position, let the utmost mercy be also extended to him and let him be degraded to the 5th rank, and remain an expectant Yuen-wai-lang (assistant under secretary) of one of the six Boards.

The interested conduct of these two men, and their forgetfulness of their sovereign, are things patent to the whole Empire. Doing nothing in excess, We have not condemned them to an extreme penalty. In dealing with their case our sentence was given after mature deliberation. We considered it long, and as our servants may imagine, Our feelings are indeed pained at doing what is unavoidable.

Henceforth must every officer, high or low, civil or military, employed in the capital or elsewhere, show that he is actuated by good principles, and loyally assist the state; that the evils accumulated during a long course of sloth and trickery may be in one day repented of and reformed in fear and trembling. Let none either shrink from difficulty, or give way to self-indulgence, and if any have it in his power to develop any of the great principles that are of importance to the policy of the state or well-being of the people, let him do so straightforwardly and without reserve. Let none be any more guided by his attachment to his (political) teacher, or by his feeling towards his patron; but let all, as it is Our sincere hope that they will, adhere to what is right without deviation therefrom, and confine themselves, unassuming, to the discharge of the duties of their posts. Let this be especially promulgated both in the city and without it, that every one may be informed of Our will. A special decree of the 18th day of the 10th moon of the 39th year—of Taikwang. (21st November, 1850). Respect this!"

#### *The local question.*

We have shewn that the local issue is but the legitimate incident of the anomalous state of our relations with the Government and people,—the logical consequence of that antagonism of principles which the former, from obstinate obtuseness and hostility, persists in cherishing, and to which the latter, from inertness and mis-directed opinions, are led to adhere.

It is not, then, to be viewed as a mere English and Chinese question, neither as a merely local rupture;—the act of YEH was not that of one without warrant and authority, neither of his own mere caprice or passion, but that of a man who, of all others, was imbued with the real spirit of the Imperial Court, and united in his person both the required local prestige and the direct authority of his

Master:—It is, in deed, a veritable kick that the Young Emperor has given us with one of his feet, instead of a blow from one of his arms;—the impulse is from the same gall of bitterness and the indignity is not the less.

Let us, then, not be parties to any subterfuges or evasions,—to no mere sacrifice of a YEH, as of a LIN, to save Imperial dignity at the expense of truth; let us not approach the Emperor with a lie on our tongue to point out a mean of extrication: This would be to commend subtlety to the subtle and false. Let us, rather, speak with the directness of a Merchant-Plenipotentiary, Abbott Lawrence, to a Lord Palmerston; and declare, at the Imperial Court, that the several and the accumulated wrongs suffered by Foreigners since the Treaty of Nanking have all been derived from its own bad faith; and that its treatment of MUCHANGAH, KEYING, HONG, and others, because of their disposition to fulfil the engagements with Foreign Powers, was scandalous and an outrage upon the feelings of Foreigners which they have a just right to be indignant at.

It was in perceiving in the local rupture the essential elements of the general question,—in thus justly apprehending the breadth of the issue, and indicating to YEH the only course of extrication,—that the British officers shewed themselves really masters of the situation; and the refusal of YEH to avail of it, at once disclosed the wide distance of the respective stand-points and established the legitimate character and universality of the controversy as one marshalling the hosts of Paganism against the family of Christian Nations.—This may have revealed a grandeur to the actors in the drama which they were not prepared to behold,—the prescience that we described in their acts may not have existed in their conception and intent; but it sufficeth that they were willing instruments, however unconscious, of an imperious necessity.—It were a stroke of real genius, when borne along in the current of affairs and conscious as well of the dangers ahead as of the ceaseless attrition that destroys the old landmarks, to perceive the fitting opportunity to throw an anchor to shore and re-provision the *ship of state*; and few are the pilots of keen eye and steady hand who in this *Yellow River* of quicksands and changing channels can recognize, as they pass, the spots of good holding ground. Let us then acknowledge the skill of those who have brought the ship to a stand-still after such serious disasters and narrow escapes as might well have alarmed the "Lord High Admiral" had not distance and the haze of Western politics obscured the real dangers.

Let us, also, rejoice that the stern and faithful expounder of the Imperial policy was found in YEH;—that the right place, the fitting opportunity, and the most responsible man, were found together:—Truly,

*"Heaven sends opportunities,—*

*A wise man profits of them."*

Let us rejoice, that in this "Barbarian in silk" we found no cringing-deceptively-docile craven, but a veritable *Imperial High Commissioner* whose silks are Brocades wrought in Golden Dragons;—that his firm assertion of the proud spirit of his Master, which spurns the friendliness in which the Nations of the West have invited China to a reciprocal comity, has brought us to the—

"Height of this high argument."—

—when the instincts of mere cunning in a meaner soul would have re-entangled us in that slough of despond—that *dismal swamp* of our relations wherein we have been so long wallowing.

And, above all, let the Christian Nations beware, lest they weaken their own position thus, by

"The converging floods of fortune,"—

attained;—the high point whence we may look down upon every part of this stupendous field of controversy, wherein, if the people of the West will but make it such, we may witness *the last armed struggle between Paganism and Christianity*.

Our cause has thus been removed from the narrow and dangerous arena of Provincial bickerings, wherein we have all so long borne ignoble fetters and some—alas—have been the victims of inhuman hate, to the highest recognized Tribunal in the land.—But ample local redress and a full restoration of the foreign *prestige* remains still incumbent and enjoined by the remissness of years.

The acts of YEH are better indicators than his words; but these directly refer us to the Emperor for redress of the standing infractions of the Treaties:—Yet, as with this declaration of his inability to sanction the entrance into the city, even in the modified form of the demand of Admiral Seymour, he coupled the old pretence of the hostile opposition of the Canton people, the hollow deceit of which we have already exposed, we are reminded that it was he who, jointly with Su, misled the former Emperor upon this very point, in 1849, and surreptitiously obtained honors which had been better bestowed in rewarding the enlightened judgment of KE YING, whose good-faith and liberal policy would, if adhered to, have averted much of the disaster that has since overtaken the Tartar Dynasty. Well was it predicated of the tendency at the Imperial Court, when in December 1845 it was said, as we have already quoted,—"in the cabinet and councils at Peking, his Imperial Majesty has not a single man who is willing to cast in his lot with KE YING;"—and we are now happy to be enabled, by the delay of publication, to add an important document upon the point under notice, in confirmation of the view we had taken, in total ignorance of its existence until the mail from London recently brought it, in the collection of Documents submitted to Parliament:—This is the *Decision of the Canton question by the Privy Council of the former Emperor*,—which, owing to the cunningly devised league between Su and YEH and the Gentry of Canton, already exposed by us, was not adopted by his Majesty. —

• Vide page 31.

Dissecting this document under the broad light of to-day, we find in it direct proof of the honesty of KE YING, coupled with the most damning evidence that good-faith was not the actuating motive of the Imperial Court;—evidence, moreover, that but foreshadowed the conclusive act which inscribed deliberate faithlessness upon the international records of China.

Let us, then, inscribe upon our banners,—

JUSTICE TO KE YING! —

And long recreant as we of the West have been to the cause of Christendom, and tardy in the justificatory vindication of Ke Ying to his faithless Master, let us now atone by the full measure of our present act for our culpable neglect of many years, and repay with usury what is due at once to the trustful faith of KE YING and to the integrity of our cause.—

Who but this High Commissioner was most instrumental in these conjoint acts—of bad faith toward us and injustice to KE YING?—Who more than he has incited the enmity of the Gentry and fed the passions of the populace with inflammable hate?—These prejudices, which KE YING would fain allay, how cunningly have they been cherished and nurtured by YEH, for future use and now how astutely availed of by him!—It was, indeed, a great stroke of policy to embitter the people against the Foreigner, thus at once to keep him out and gain a unity of sentiment with which to counteract Rebellion; and hence it was that he issued Proclamations denouncing the English as banded with Rebels.—But his cunning did not halt here, for so truly and effectively did he use "hate of the Foreigner" as his rallying cry that, with a want of principle characteristic of his Government, we see him welcome those whom he had denounced as thieves, and they (the rebels), getting no aid from the British Officers, fain to join his treacherous standard.

When at first we saw him braving the might of England, his audacity dazzled; and remembering his ability and fortitude in defence of the city against the insurgents, in 1854, we were fain to ask ourself "is this an instance of sublime self-sacrifice that we see?"—yet soon our admiration was qualified when we heard from him that old puling cry,—"*It is all those naughty boys*:"—aye *naughty*, but most useful boys upon occasion!—a naughtiness well spiced with rancor,—that this same Imperial Commissioner—stately in his brocades, yet supple in his treachery—has long been an adept in wielding against Foreigners.

This keeper of the Emperor's city—subtle and inhuman in policy, and unscrupulous in his means—who, to inspire terror demanded from each district of country an arbitrary quota of victims and slew many scores of thousands of the most helpless of his countrymen to quench the fires of revolution with rivers of blood;—who, by Proclamation under his own seal, offered rewards for the heads of Englishmen and for the capture of vessels,—reckless of the nationality of the victims and spoils, and when

accused of this, falsely denied it; who induced the poisoning of whole communities, including people of all Nations and even women and children! — *Shall he not be summoned to surrender it?* — And these faithful "Braves" of his, — shall they escape a wholesome chastisement?

Shall Mandarin insolence be taught a reciprocal civility, and its offspring — popular violence — receive a sufficing check? —

— But who and what else is he? —

*He is the faithful exponent of the Imperial policy: the chosen and cherished instrument of the Foreigner's degradation: — He, sitting within the city walls in haughty isolation and fancied security, refuses redress to the Foreigner; and yet is the Agent of a Government that recruits its navy from piratical strong-holds and obtains its most daring leaders from amongst renegade rebels; — a Government that degrades a K'AI YING and justifies a T'UNGKAI and exalts a SU and a YEH; that spurns the hand of friendship, and refuses to be taught by the severest of misfortunes!*

What with such a Government is the fruit of forbearance but fruit of bitterness? —

Have we again to open with it that dreary book of Diplomacy? —

Shall we thus again inaugurate another dozen years of wordiness, — of empty professions and pretended power by it, of mis-placed trust and conciliation by us; a rendering of moral and material aid by us, and a poisoning of public sentiment against us by it?

*Having seen that it heeds none but practical lessons and is bound by none but material guarantees, shall we still refuse to deal with practical results in a practical manner, and thus prolong this wretched quasi-hostile, semi-philanthropic policy?*

These questions admit, to our mind of but one valid answer, which we shall presently endeavor to give.

#### *Policy and Responsibility of the Imperial Court.*

Before proceeding to answer these questions we deem it more in order to present the following important indications of the Imperial Policy as lucid illustrations of the text.

The first in order of date is the Edict of the Emperor upon the occasion of Sir George Bonham's visit to the mouth of the Pei-ho in June 1859, to deliver a letter of Lord Palmerston, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs. — It is as follows: —

"Officers of the establishment of the realm have each of them a particular sphere of duty; (on matters beyond it) they have no power to speak, as it is highly irregular; nor may they move therein, for it produces confusion. It was from the liberality of this Government and from the extreme inclination of His Majesty the late Emperor to love his people and to foster the stranger, the permission to trade, was accorded to these barbarians; and they should have shown the fervor of their tranquillity. In coming therefore as they have now done, to Tientsin, and openly transmitting letters to Ministers of the Cabinet, they have been guilty

of extreme disrespect and irregularity, and we command that no answer be returned to them, and that the whole occurrence be left unnoticed, as if it had never taken place. And seeing that if it be noised abroad, memorials will be sent up express from all the places passed by the barbarians and (messengers from) Kwangtung, Fuhkien, Chehkiang, Kiangsi, Shangtung, Tientsin and all the coast line will be fainting on the road, — much against the dignity (of the state); and as it is moreover said in the Record of observances, that public servants have no intercourse with foreigners, it would be for these reasons still less proper that the Cabinet Ministers in question should open the way to disrespectful courses by acknowledging the letter. As SU KWANGTSIN the Governor General of the Two Kwang, manages matters satisfactorily, and is thoroughly acquainted with the devilish malice of the hearts of these barbarians, and as Kwangtung is withal the natural channel of their (communications) We command that all business of these barbarians be henceforward, referred to SU KWANGTSIN for administration, and that none of the Governor Generals or Governors along the coast be so irregular as to speak of the same, or so disorderly as to meddle with it; and we command that this law be made public as one to be observed for ever. Respect this!"

The next is of special historical interest, as well as of political significance, relating as it does to the most resolute asserter of the repressive policy against Foreigners at the inception of the first War; — he who in this respect may stand as the prototype of YEH, but the results of whose aberrations in statesmanship seem to have conveyed no warning to the latter. We allude to Commissioner L'N, of whose death the Editor of the Repository thus remarks in January 1851. —

"The late Commissioner Lin Tschu has received posthumous honors from his young master, and the following edict, praising him for his zeal and fidelity, is better deserved than many of those which the head of the state has issued during the last decennary. It stands in singular contrast with the preceding denunciation of the policy of L'N's political opponent,\* and leads us to conclude that L'N would verily have taken a seat in the Cabinet, if his life had been spared."

That the Imperial Government had had no valid reasons for its reactionary policy toward Foreigners, the following extract of a despatch, detailing successful movements of the British Vessels of War against Pirates, will shew, without the need to refer to other indications of the good will of England, since a spirit as benevolent as it was misapplied is herein quite manifest; whilst the equivocal conduct of the authorities of Canton, with whom Sir George Bonham strove to live in good neighborhood, would justify the worst construction to be put upon its motives: — H. E. hav-

\* Keying.

ing repeatedly offered to concert with and assist them, as in this case, to put down the powerful bands of Pirates then infesting the coasts and estuaries of China, which overtures were repelled rather than welcomed by Su; and *subsequently the most noted of these Pirates were taken into Government service.*

EXTRACT.

"I have much satisfaction in communicating these particulars to Your Excellency and take the opportunity of remarking once more that our success in completely putting down this nuisance which is even more hurtful to you than to ourselves, would be sure, if I could prevail upon Your Excellency to concert with me those measures of co-operation, the advantage of which I have so often pressed upon your attention. In my communication of 20th ultimo, above referred to I said, "that I was determined to take steps for the despatch of vessels to scour the seas in all directions;" and I shall only add that whether Your Excellency is pleased to co-operate with me or not, I shall accordingly miss no opportunity of destroying these common enemies of mankind; wherever they are to be found in these waters; that the spreading of this evil may be effectually put an end to."

"Accept the assurance, &c.

(Signed) S. G. BONHAM.

"H. E. Su Imperial High Commissioner, &c."  
Victoria, Hongkong, 8th October, 1849.

*The general issue and the responsibility  
of the Imperial Court.*

We have said that High Commissioner YEU has both practically and verbally referred us to his Master for redress of the standing infractions of the Treaties; nor can we, remembering that every phase of the local inbroglio has disclosed new subterfuges by him, be reluctant to accept the practical consequences of his acts or words—much less, can those whose eyes are not wilfully blinded or whose ears are not closed to the trumpet-tongued past, regret them;—Nay, if the indicating finger—the hand-writing on the wall—that marks a new Era in the East be not visible to all eyes, let us rejoice that in this question, to-day, "the elements are so mixed" that it is no longer in the power of any man to prevent their working to a good end or to deviate far from the path upon which the light of the mind and the hope of the heart of the West are now converging—with the wonders of science, the glory of intellect, the faith of Religion—to render more hideous that high, blank, black, wall along which it leads and behind which are groping in heathen darkness both tyrant and victim.—

It is here that we behold the huge *Ma'akoff* defending that wall,

This Province is the Crimea of the War, and Canton City its Sevastopol, - for War it is with China and upon principles, not upon an incident, -

and we should say that we see a Saint Petersburg in Peking but that there is now another at Nanking;—and herein, only, is the question still a complex one.—

"Incidents ought not to govern policy but policy incidents"

"To be hurried away by every event, is to have no political system at all."

Applying these axioms of the GREAT NAPOLEON to international questions, we see that it neither befits the dignity nor consists with the material interests of GREAT NATIONS to disregard principles as the foundation of policy, and hence that a reciprocal responsibility is to attach and to be exacted as the basis of intercourse.

This SEVASTOPOL, therefore, is to be stormed and its capture reported to the nominally-responsible power at PEKING, at same time that *ample security for the future is demanded there.* The bull will be taken by the horns at Canton, but by the tail also at the Great Wall! These are preliminaries of all the "bargaining of the mart;"—the Mandarin of Tientsin will not find in the EARL OF ELGIN the same "*Monsieur Tonson*" seeking a little more trade, merely.—Trade is no longer the *summum bonum* of Western policy, nor is the error of the past, in regarding it as an efficient means of conciliation and influence, to mislead the future negotiator; but in due time it will take its place as an incident of international relations.

A learned writer upon relations with China, then Editor of the *Chinese Repository* and now an Officer of the American Government stated in 1850, the results of his observation of the moral influences of Trade, then extending over a period of sixteen years in the following words:—"Commerce alone is too selfish ever to carry many benefits in its train, and the people of this land think they have already suffered much from foreign traders, and may yet suffer more."

Recognizing the general fact that Trade is the pioneer of civilization and that its influence is beneficent as the welder of international bonds; and reluctant as we are to concur in the foregoing seemingly unqualified expression, yet conscious that the reliance of the Western Governments upon it in this country has been misplaced, we are fain to acknowledge that although it is undoubtedly the ameliorator of national asperities, yet when its chief instrument is *Opium* it cannot be said to be the handmaid of morality or the promoter of goodwill.—If, then, the observant and the virtuous accuse us, as they may, of bringing in our hands *poison*, let us convince them in despite of their rulers who wish them only to note the evil we bring, that in our hearts full-freight of *goodness* there is laden for them the antidote to that *poison*, which we commend to them above all our wares, Xc  
—It is only of these base wares that the Mandarins will be disposed to listen and they will strive immediately to shackle us again with the golden chain of Trade, tempting our cupidity by the addition of a few more links; and if thereby their



cunning involves us in difficulties with the independent Power at Nanking this War will have proved a God-send, indeed, to them!

We must shew them that *we* can do without Trade as well as *they*—that *our* contempt for it is as great as *theirs*; in short we must convince them by the weight of our blows that we are competent, if need be, to make our own terms with the Tea and Silk growers, and afford the latter better protection than they have had for many a decade.

The sacrifices of principles to expediency and to the exigencies of Trade by the foreign Powers of late years, have only served to aggravate jealousies if not to compromise neutrality. All our overtures, save for purely selfish and local purposes, have been repelled with an arrogance ill-befitting weakness so palpable. Witness the conduct of the Imperialist soldiery at Shanghai in April 1854; and the results of the visit to the Pei-ho in the succeeding Autumn.—The foreign guns on the former occasion exacted a local and temporary respect for life and property.—The latter essay demonstrated, chiefly, that without an increased number of guns and greater scope in the use of them it would be worse than needless to repeat the visit.—Very soon indeed, did the Plenipotentiaries reach the length of their tether!

Nor were the circumstances attending the overtures at Canton in November and December 1854, already adverted to on page 16, such as to afford any hope of an amelioration of the relations with the Imperial Government.

In short, forbearance and favor had been construed into prescriptive right, and conciliation and moderation were attributed to a timid cupidity or a real dread of the resources of China.

From the first no one but KE-YING comprehended, or admitted the principles of international intercourse; and the words of CHING, addressed in 1845 to H. E. Mr. CUSHING and quoted on page 23, have served as the key-note of the successors of the former:—The prevailing error seems to have been in regarding KE-YING as the type of his class and hence assuming that his enlightenment was to extend to and so pervade the Imperial Court that the old teaching by example of the days of the East India Company would be discarded as no longer applicable;—but with the cunning of Oriental minds the Mandarins have watched their opportunities to re-apply their subtle policy and counter-march upon the course taken by that more far-seeing statesman.

Obviously this divergence of ideas could only widen:—confidence could not take root in a sterile soil, nor, when the visible act so imperfectly fulfilled the uttered profession, was a sedulously-estranged people to be easily conciliated:—An instrument of less selfishness and greater scope and benevolence than Trade was required to attemper such hostile elements and perfect a lasting basis of friendship. It could not reach the higher channels of influence, the educated and refined classes; nor

was it to the Government better than a bribe in the form of Customs-Duties and emoluments:—Moreover, it was sure to furnish occasions, in a country of misrule and general license, for the perversion of its real benefits and the detraction of its conductors, by a jealous Government. Thus stopping short as we did of social contact, were there any whose souls craved something tangible and good, would they grasp our right hand while they saw us with the left one scatter *Opium* broad-cast over the land? Nay, how were they to approach us save as Merchants or menials?

The Government, whose trusted Officers had been conciliated and convinced of the Foreigners' good-faith, discarded and punished those Officers, and inspired terror and distrust among the people, locally, by such acts as the execution of Li—alluded to on page 30.

Perhaps some of our readers may think that we lay undue stress upon the introduction of *Opium* as an element of adverse influence upon the minds of the people—while, on the other hand, others may find in what we say suggestion of justification for the jealousy of the Mandarins;—but both parties will be willing to meet us, we fully believe, after full consideration of the intrinsic difficulties and merits of the question, at the spot where, as we humbly conceive, we have found the *juste-milieu* of it.—We confess that morally we regard it as an unmitigated evil; but we see that it is a question that we can practically deal with only as philanthropists by direct influence upon the people, whose inordinate craving furnishes, at once, the producers and traders with their market and the Mandarins with their most liberal and certain emoluments. As an economic and financial question it is of very serious importance to both the English and Chinese Governments and to the whole Foreign Trade; but it ceased with the first war to be a political one between the two Governments and has since been regarded in its proper light, as an incident of intercourse subordinate to national policy.

The existence of this immense traffic in *Opium*, which must obviously be permitted to enjoy the perfect immunity accorded to every other article of the World's commerce, renders all the more incumbent upon the Christian Nations the exaction of free social intercourse hereafter, both with regard to the exercise of restraining moral influence and to the removal of any prejudices existing among the people from a false conception of the motives of the English Government in regard to it.

Unless this free channel be effectually opened-up for us we may well despair of eradicating prejudices or working reformatations.—

How far the repugnance to foreign intercourse observable here in the people may be ascribed to the introduction of *Opium* or how wide spread the evils flowing from it may be, we confess to an inability to declare, for want of access to them,—but inasmuch as at the northern ports generally and



especially in the interior, beyond Ningpo and Shanghai, this repugnance on the part of the people is not seen, whilst it is shewn there as it is here, by the Mandarins, we must conclude that the evils, whatever their extent may be, are not generally attributed to foreigners, although an aversion from this cause undoubtedly exists in some minds:—But as respects the Mandarins, their own complicity in its introduction; the emoluments they have usually derived from it; and their personal indulgence in its use; are too notoriously general for them to hazard a word of complaint publicly against foreigners in regard to it.

The Imperial Government was long ago divested of all political pretence in regard to it by its own inconsistencies and the corruption of its Officers, it being indeed susceptible of proof that down almost to the advent of LIN at Canton no article of merchandize so regularly or so liberally furnished the emoluments by which the Mandarins were enabled to purchase and retain their offices,—the more important of which in respect to the Foreign Trade were notoriously “farmed out” by the Government. The proofs of this and of the double-dealing of Governor-General TANG and others were so patent that he was publicly lampooned at Canton; and when the Emperor was made aware of the cupidity and faithlessness of his high officers, he was compelled to repudiate the pretences under which LIN had suddenly made prisoners of all the Foreigners at Canton and make indemnity to England.

Yet, notwithstanding the bad-faith and culpable conduct of the high Imperial Officers and the suspicious vacillations of the Court, the appeal of the former Emperor to the moral sense of the Western Nations, so long as sincerity and consistency could be attributed to it, was sympathetically responded to by many fervent hearts and some eloquent tongues; nor have the echoes of the hopes that it excited yet ceased in the West, although every pulsation of them has long since ceased to be visible in China; and that the *noxious juice* had even penetrated to the “Inner Courts” of the Imperial residence it was some years ago declared.—Certain it is that, although the use of Opium has been sternly prohibited by the rival Power at NANKING from the very inception of its organization, yet every possible facility and license has, meantime, been afforded by the Imperial Officers to its introduction, from the dues upon which the army before NANKING has been directly subsisted to a great extent for several years past; and recently for the sake of larger local dues upon it regulations have been publicly promulgated by the Imperial Authorities at Shanghai and other northern ports formally legalizing its importation.

Such is the aspect of the Opium question as it is now presented to the opinion of the West; and which in its present phase undeniable exonerates England of the charge, as between herself and the Tartar Dynasty, of pursuing a merely selfish policy.

Such, too, are the present relative positions of the two Powers whose respective capitals are PEKING and NANKING upon this question, presented as one of morality.

Is there any doubt, then, as to where the warm sympathies of the Western people will adhere, and as to which of the two our moral support is due?

A group of papers which will appear in the appendix under the head of the *Religious Question* will further indicate the answer which the form of this question suggests.—Adding this to the other interrogatories propounded at the close of our *resumé* of the “*local question*,” we reserve replies for a final view of the *Political Question*.

#### *The Political Question.*

We have said that the political question is still a complex one only in respect to the divided Sovereignty of the Chinese Empire;—that it is in relation to the Chinese *people* that its elements are still of a mixed or complicated character, imposing upon us the preservation of an attitude of circumspection with mingled firmness and conciliation.

We mean that as between the British Government and the Court of Peking it is reduced to perfect simplicity; and we should perhaps have said, rather, that the tangled skein of our relations with it has become one of such a *gordian* intricateness that there is left possible only the most simple and decisive of all practical processes:—namely,—*to cut it by a single stroke*; and thus reduce its apparent meshes to positive absurdities,—as they are! Happily, in the Chiefs of the two Governments which *now* seem destined to be the joint and sole Representatives of the interests of civilization and Christianity in China, we have exemplars of resolute will;—that wholesome element of power whose exercise in times of disorder and doubt dissipates noxious influences like an electric stroke and gives renewed life to the body politic. Does any one still doubt that the time is ripe for this *coup d'état* toward the Court of Peking?

Such person cannot have watched the last dozen years' gathering of the bitter fruit of relations with it; nor does he apprehend the practical issue with this most impracticable of Governments. It is probable, indeed, that he takes an erroneous point of departure in assuming that he starts from a base of good-faith at the period of the Treaties between the three Great Naval Powers and China,—for of those Treaties—with Preambles ostentatious of mutual professions of *amity*.—what are the stipulations but essential precautions against hostility and what is their spirit but mutual distrust? And of the portion of good-faith contributed by the Imperial Court, was there a shred left when the *Arrow* was boarded?

Probing Lord Palmerston's conscience with this *barbarian weapon*—now become so *rusty*—did his adversaries make him wince?—Did their *barb* find a sensitive spot wherein its poison would take

effect? No,—in his deep consciousness of right he but saw retributive justice in the sure recoil of a weapon unworthy of Christian hands, albeit wielded by the Champions of various sections and shades of belief then become the conjoint manipulators of a motley mass of *dissent*!—No, indeed; and if similar Treaties, (may we not say if *any* Treaties?) are made with it, we shall again find ourselves—another dozen or fifteen years hence—the possessors of nothing but a tattered remnant of a compact through whose rents Mandarin underlings will mock, as before, at our weakness.

We can liken the material of the former Treaties to nothing so much as to a piece of silk, a fabric which they well know how to make—we may as well call it “Mandarin Satin”—whereof we furnished the warp and they the woof or filling, and which last they st. althily, thread by thread, pulled out, leaving us bound by our own warp!

In this they but followed a natural, if we may not even call it a logical, course; and therein fulfilled the prophecy of the Reverend Dr. Abeel, a very high authority in those days, whose loss all well wishers to the Chinese people may well deplore,—who wrote from Amoy, in 1844, to friends in America, upon this point, as follows:—

“The policy of the Imperial Cabinet is, I think, apparent:—*let all Foreigners come to the five ports; restrict them as much as you can; conquer them by diplomacy and stratagem; but yield any thing rather than risk a war.*”

Thus, thirteen years ago Abeel saw indications of the subtle and cowardly policy of the Imperial Court:—but had not the persistence in this policy been foreseen by us four years before, when in June 1840, we wrote, as quoted on pages—8 and 9, of the *indispensable necessity to proceed to Peking*!

It was a concession to the Imperial Court *not* to go there when Sir Charles Elliot went to the Pei-ho, and the consequence was a course of treachery by the Court:—but, in truth, there never was an adequate force at the disposal of either of the Plenipotentiaries during the first war, as we have already said.

And we might say that from that day to this, conciliation and kind offices have been literally “thrown away” upon it, but that the result has been worse than *nothing*—in that it has been productive of harmful misconceptions and lamentable complications.

Scorning as it does the amenities of a reciprocal comity, how is this Court to be approached?

Not, surely, by any outward concessions to Oriental ideas,—no over-refinements,—no outward adaptability:—we want, rather, non-conformity in all things.

It is, we think, almost a pity that the British High Commissioner is of high titular rank, for the sending of such a personage savors of conformity and intended compliment; but after saying this, we are bound to add that, judging from his Lordship’s public career, which we have somewhat

closely observed for several years, we would not consent to take in exchange any other public man of the day title-less or not.

We conceive that diplomacy, in the ordinary sense of that term, is not required; but, rather, that higher degree of statesmanship which combines with a full apprehension of necessities the will to apply their remedies. These schooled diplomatists and natural sophists must learn from a new, blunt, hard, tongue, that there is an end of all evasions and chicanery, and that the East and West are face to face with each other with nothing but plain *yes* and *no* to expound the text of the future between them.

But of the future did we say?—Nay, how do *they* account to us of the past and the present?—Are *they* the acceptable sponsors on the part of the East for the embryo era whose dawn is already so roseate in the horizon of our hope?

They, whose power we have seen steadily decline, from the days when with Gongs and “Tom toms” they drove Lord Napier distracted away to his grave, until now—23 years after!—is their cause now commended to the World’s good judgment any more than to England’s longer sufferance?—

With its *prestige* in the opinion of Foreigners at that period,—for though incipient revolution shewed itself in this Province in that very year, of 1834, yet the power of the Emperor seemed generally intact, save in Formosa, where rebellion had been rife for a year or two:—with its system of mingled authority and cajolery, it compelled obedience to the most coercive and cruel acts against the Chinese and finally exhibited its power directly upon ourselves in 1838-39:—With such an apparent consciousness of established authority over the people and such audacity toward Foreigners, it exacted locally a respect to which now, in a retrospective view of 23 years, we see clearly it was not entitled. It thus derived one of the advantages of isolation, by which the Foreigner from afar was led to confound with the venerable Country and its institutions the usurping Dynasty, which we now see so ill discharge the sacred trust that it assumed.

Thus, in this period, has much mis-directed interest and sympathy, as we conceive, been accorded to it, which properly belonged to the people and their Country.

To-day, we are mindful that our own observation thus extends over more than one tenth of the duration of the Tartar Dynasty; and when we now speak of China as a country whose institutions are venerable, we do not thereby accept or recognize that Dynasty as the Representative of this venerable character.—

So far from inspiring veneration by its wisdom and equity or entitling itself to participate in the feeling that rightly attaches both from tradition and observation to the Country and its remarkable people, we see it incapable and demoralized:—power-

less to succor the people or defend itself;—a *huge Dragon or vampire like one of those monsters painted by Turner, lying along the heights of the Land and, with its talons reaching down into the valleys, absorbing its life-blood!*—

Is the Tartar Dynasty, then, a Government *de facto*?

Let us again answer by counter questions.

With whose assistance has it of late years maintained the appearance of it?—Does any person believe that without the avails of the Foreign trade it could have done so?

Is it a Government *de jure*?

Does it inspire the love, fear, or respect, of the Chinese people?

What element of stability, then, do we find—in examining its antecedents or regarding its present position—whereon to found our hope of the inauguration by its assistance of an era of prosperity or even of peace?

Is there—after searching the record and conscientiously testing its claims by the light of to-day—a doubt that its system is as much deteriorated as its coin,—that from *Copper* it became base-metal, a major part *alloy*, and has constantly been debased until it is now nothing but *iron*?

Is there, in short, the vestige of a hope left of,—not the moral *regeneration* for which we, as Christians, long; but of the mere *political salvation of these very men themselves*? — — —

Confessedly the situation as we portray it is in the last degree precarious and unsatisfactory for all,—and for the Chinese people calamitous and deplorable indeed; nor have we painted it too darkly.—We might, rather, still heighten the effect by a bare statement of facts:—of realities so distressing,—of circumstances so strange,—and anomalies so incomprehensible,—as, to the distant and unobservant, should lend an air of romance to what we wrote; but we leave these details to the narrators of current events:—It sufficeth for us that the whole land is weeping and that the veil that we must hold up to the eyes of the West is black;—it is enough that this symbol of sorrow,—(shall it not be enough?)—may be rent in twain, if the manly and pure hearts of the West will it so, and a flood of light—of moral and material blessings—poured in to stem the torrent of disaster that now seems overspreading its broad expanse:—It is enough—(shall it not be enough?)—that we see thousands of struggling victims entangled in the whirlpools of this torrent with gestures imploring the succor that their weak voices essay in vain to invoke.—

It is enough—(shall it not be enough?)—to apprise the people of the West that the means of the solution of these difficulties and of the mitigation of these distresses are at least measurably within their reach and control.

May we not still repeat hopefully what we have already expressed in another place in a somewhat different form?—

That neither the cry of faction or the spirit of routine in England, nor cherished prejudices or abstract sentimentalisms in America or in France, will be permitted longer to obscure the issue or obstruct the efficient action of the Agents of these Powers. We believe, on the contrary, that once that the issue is apprehended in those countries in all its breadth and grandeur it will elicit the decisive moral sanction of an enlightened public opinion to that broad and effective treatment which alone can give renewed life to a suffering people;—a people prostrate, indeed, with hardship, but not generally enervated, or deteriorated in those characteristics of industry, perseverance, and thrift, which are traditional of them.—

We believe that the ears of to-day are open to no narrow enunciations of policy: but are inclined to the plaints of suffering millions, whose rescue from bad government is a mission worthy of the Great Heart of Christendom:—We believe that the mind of the time has reached that higher—philosophical—ground and broader scope of statesmanship which embraces the care of those who know not how to care for themselves and recognizes as its goal, in dealing with a Pagan people,—“*the greatest good of the greatest number.*”

Does this collective mind of the West, to whose enlightened judgment we appeal, still hesitate in its allotment of blame for the past, and in seeking further for the truth, ask by whose default it is that this Empire has been the scene of wide-spread revolution and disorder?—

We answer, not that a designing Chieftain took up arms and embarked in a desperate venture! No:—he but laid bare the fatal *cancer* and demonstrated the vital power of faith over a senseless fatalism and a grovelling superstition!—No:—So far from it, that numerous independent Chieftains rose up almost simultaneously in different and wide-apart portions of the Empire, each with an ensign of discontent, the leaders of movements which being without concert were of a general character that indicated organic decay and the elements of Revolution.

This was the state of affairs recognized in 1853 by the British and American Plenipotentiaries, as we have shewn on page 16; but have our readers sufficiently marked the prophetic indications of the Editor of the “*Repository*” cited on page 20, wherein this Revolution was foretold in 1847?—

Therein is the pith of the whole matter and the gist of the practical question of to-day:—Within those brief paragraphs, of ten years ago, is compressed a correct view of the policy of the Imperial Court, its injustice to Foreigners, and its disastrous tendency: the impending revolution and fall of the Tartar Dynasty is prefigured with concern; and the only means of postponing or averting these consequences of misgovernment and bad statesmanship are indicated.—The reverend and conscientious writer also expressed a hope at that time which his sagacious mind must have relinquished

long ago; and we cannot refrain from quoting again the whole paragraph in which it is embodied, every line of which is pregnant of the momentous events and deplorable evils which have made the interval memorable.—It is as follows:—  
 “In China a change of dynasties has usually—has always, so far as is known been attended with the most dire calamities, bloody and horrible beyond description. Were the present Government broken up, and the flood-gates of war opened, as things now are, the scenes of desolation would be awful. Our hope is that this Government may stand, and that it may be so modified—so reformed—that it may recover from its present weakness and disorder. There is, however, so far as we can see, but one way for this desirable end to be effected, and that is by friendly intercourse with foreign nations. The presence of foreign ministers at the court of Peking is very desirable. The preservation of peace cannot long be maintained without it; and the sooner Great-Britain, France and the United States, take measures to effect it, the better both for them and the Chinese.”

Obviously we have no need of abstract reasoning:—We have seen every alternative of conciliation exhausted by Foreign Nations; and if we ask, has China grievances to complain of?—We reply, none but what she has brought upon herself,—only those she invites or persistently seeks,—

The weight of blame, then, for all this disorder and these calamities we may lay at the Palace or Tent door—(for we know not in which His youthful Majesty may be found)—of him who has so often of late years threatened to over-run or overshadow the land with clouds of Nomads from his native plains, like locusts to sweep down and devour its substance.—

What, then, do we deduce from a situation—a situation thus reached—as its primary necessities?

Costly armaments cannot be annually sent to China or repeated in brief periods of time, even if another forty years Peace prevails in Europe. The first requisite, then, is a settlement that has the essential elements of permanency.

On a former occasion England was compelled

to exact material guaranties in the retention of Chusan, Kulangsu, and Hongkong; and yet eventually these proved insufficient, as we have seen.—

*To-day, we have to ask ourselves how to deal with an existing state of facts—in a statesmanlike manner?—that is the practical question.*

It is obviously more than ever necessary to exact such guaranties now, since a state Revolution implies changes in the Treaty-making power.

But nothing short of complete reversal of policy will suffice in this case;—a downright and earnest policy pursued to severity will alone rescue the people or their rulers from ruin.

We must give the inert mass of error an electric shock before we can open-up the springs of a new life.

We must let the dead past bury its dead and be mindful that “*it is not by routine and mere forms that thoughts and aspirations shall become things.*”

We must, in short, be practical in politics to inaugurate reform.

It was their *policy* not their *Agents* that the Treaty Powers had need to change; and fortunate will it be for the Chinese people as well as for those of the West if the initiation of the new and more exalted Chiefs be complete and not dear-bought by a squandering of the long-desiderated opportunity;—happy, if as these exalted personages voyage toward the rising Sun they leave the shadows of the past behind them,—and, coming as they do, shackled within the rusty armor of a mediæval diplomacy, the panoply of a ruder age of distrust, happy indeed, if they vault out of it by one bound into the real, the free, the hearty, and inviting present, and thus forestall the promised, the beneficent future, by adding the last required connecting links to the Universal Brotherhood of Nations!—Thus shall we—

“Ring out the old, ring in the new;

Ring out the false, ring in the true:—

Ring out the grief that saps the mind:

Ring in redress to all mankind.”

#### END OF PART FIRST.

NOTE.—Part Second, in the form of a letter to a friend, will treat of the subject as illustrated by the incidents of the interval since the Introductory letter of November 14th last was written; and with an Appendix, including remarks and notes upon the *Religious Question* and upon the *Revolutionary Government* at NANKING, will soon be printed.—A second Edition of Part First with additional notes will also soon be ready.









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